Vol. 20 1944

JOURNAL

OF THE

BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

(New Series)

EDITED BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA P. V. KANE
PROF. A. A. A. FYZEE
PROF. N. K. BHAGWAT

CONTENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
OCTOBER, 1944

LONDON AGENT:
ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN
41 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1

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VOL. 20 1944

CHANDONUŚĀSANA OF HEMACANDRA[1]

(CHS. VI AND VII)

By H. D. VELANKAR

अथ हैमं छन्दोऽनुशासनम् ।

षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।

सन्ध्यादौ कडवकान्ते च ध्रुवं स्यादिति ध्रुवा ध्रुवकं घत्ता वा ॥ १ ॥
कडवकसमूहात्मकः सन्धिस्तस्यादौ चतुर्भिः पद्धडिकाद्यैश्छन्दोभिः कडवकम् । तस्यान्ते ध्रुवं निश्चितं स्यादिति ध्रुवा, ध्रुवकं, घत्ता वेति संज्ञान्तरम् । **सा त्रेधा षट्पदी चतुष्पदी द्विपदी च ॥ २ ॥** सेति ध्रुवा । **कडवकान्ते प्रारब्धार्थोपसंहारे आद्ये छड्डुणिका च ॥ ३ ॥** प्रारब्धस्य प्रकरणायातस्यार्थस्य कडवकान्ते भङ्ग्यन्तरेणाभिधाने षट्पदीचतुष्पद्यावेव छड्डणिकासंज्ञे ; न केवलं ध्रुवादिसंज्ञे छड्डणिकासंज्ञे चेति चार्थः । षट्पदीचतुष्पदीध्रुवयोश्च सप्तकलादयः सप्तदशकलान्ताः पादा भवन्तीति तेषु गणनियममाह ।

ध्रुवायां छैः कलाभिः पादे चतौ पदौ वा ॥ ४ ॥
ध्रुवायां छैरिति सप्तभिः कलाभिः पादे चतुर्मात्रत्रिमात्रौ पञ्चमात्रद्विमात्रौ वा गणौ भवतः ।

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[1] Continued from the last volume. In the illustrations of the different metres in chs. VI and VII also, the name of the particular metre is skilfully introduced by the author, as in chs. IV-V. I have not marked it in them, by a line under the word, as this can be easily known now.—H. D. V.

जैः पतौ षदौ चौ वा ॥ ५ ॥

जैरित्यष्टभिः कलाभिः पादे पञ्चमात्रत्रिमात्रौ षण्मात्रद्विमात्रौ द्वौ वा चतुर्मात्रौ गणौ भवतः ।

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ञैश्चादौ षचौ पौ वा ॥ ७ ॥

ञैरिति दशभिः कलाभिः पादे चतुर्मात्रद्वयद्विमात्रौ षण्मात्रचतुर्मात्रौ द्वौ वा पञ्चमात्रौ गणौ भवतः ।

टैश्चपदं पचदं षदतं चानौ वा ॥ ८ ॥

टैरित्येकादशभिः कलाभिः पादे चतुर्मात्रपञ्चमात्रद्विमात्राः पञ्चमात्रचतुर्मात्रद्विमात्राः षण्मात्रद्विमात्रत्रिमात्राश्चतुर्मात्रद्वयत्रिमात्रौ वा गणा भवन्ति ।

ठैश्चपतं षचदं पादौ चिर्वा ॥ ९ ॥

ठैरिति द्वादशभिः कलाभिः पादे चतुर्मात्रपञ्चमात्रत्रिमात्राः षण्मात्रचतुर्मात्रद्विमात्राः पगणद्वयद्विमात्रौ चतुर्मात्रत्रयं वा गणा भवन्ति ।

डैः पातौ चापौ षचतं वा ॥ १० ॥

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ढैश्चिदौ षचचं वा ॥ ११ ॥

ढैरिति चतुर्दशभिः कलाभिः पादे चतुर्मात्रत्रयद्विमात्रौ षचचा वा गणा भवन्ति ।

णैश्चितौ पिर्वा ॥ १२ ॥

णैरिति पञ्चदशभिः कलाभिः पादे चतुर्मात्रत्रयत्रिमात्रौ त्रयो वा पञ्चमात्रा गणा भवन्ति ।

तैः षचादं चीर्वा ॥ १३ ॥

तैरिति षोडशभिः कलाभिः पादे षण्मात्रचतुर्मात्रद्वयद्विमात्राश्चत्वारो वा चतुर्मात्रा गणा भवन्ति ।

थैः षचातं चिपौ वा ॥ १४ ॥

थैरिति सप्तदशभिः कलाभिः पादे षण्मात्रचतुर्मात्रद्वयत्रिमात्राश्चतुर्मात्रत्रयपञ्चमात्रौ वा गणा भवन्ति । एवं च सप्तादिसप्तदशान्तकलौघेभ्यस्त्रिभिरतुल्यैस्तुल्यातुल्यैः तुल्यैर्वार्द्धे पादा यत्र भवन्ति सा विदग्धगोष्ठीगरिष्ठा षट्पदी ध्रुवा । षट्पदीषु चाद्यस्य पादस्य द्वितीयेन तृतीयस्य षष्ठेन चतुर्थस्य पञ्चमेनानुप्रासः कर्तव्यः । चतुष्पदीष्वाद्यस्य द्वितीयेन तृतीयस्य चतुर्थेन । अन्तरसमासु सङ्कीर्णासु च प्रायेण द्वितीयस्य चतुर्थेनानुप्रासः कार्यः । तत्र षट्पदीभेदानाह—

तृतीयषष्ठयोर्दशादिसप्तदशान्ताः कलाः शेषेषु सप्त षट्पदी षट्पदजातिरष्टधा ॥ १५ ॥

तृतीयषष्ठयोः पादयोः दशादयो मात्रा एकैकवृद्ध्या यावत् सप्तदश, अन्येषु चतुर्षु पादेषु सप्तैव यत्र भवन्ति, सा षट्पदजातिर्नाम षट्पदी भवति। सा च दशादीनां सप्तदशान्तानामष्टविधत्वादष्टधा। तत्राद्या यथा—

इअ नारिहिं। रससारिहिं। मुहपरिमल[1]लुद्धओ॥
दुरु ढोल्लइ। न हु मेल्लइ। छप्पयगणु मुद्धओ॥ १॥

एवं शेषभेदेषूदाहार्यम्।

अष्टौ उपजातिः॥ १६॥

तृतीयषष्ठयोः पादयोर्दशादिसप्तदशान्ताः कलाः शेषेष्वष्टौ चेत्तदोपजातिर्नाम षट्पदी। पूर्ववदष्टधा। तत्राद्या यथा—

इअ उवजाइहिं। सुरहिअवाइहिं। गुंजिरघणछप्पउ॥
उव वण सारओ। केअइफारओ। कमु[2] नवि रइ अप्पओ॥ २॥

एवं शेषभेदेषूदाहार्यम्।

नवावजातिः॥ १७॥

तृतीयषष्ठयोः पादयोर्दशादिसप्तदशान्ताः कलाः शेषेषु नव चेत्तदाऽवजातिर्नाम षट्पदी। पूर्ववदष्टधा। तत्राद्या यथा—

इअ वणराइहिं। अहिणवजाइहिं। छप्पओ परिभमई॥
मालइरत्तओ। महुरसमत्तओ। जलयागमसमई॥ ३॥

एवं शेषभेदेषूदाहार्यम्। एवं षट्पदजात्युपजात्यवजातीनां प्रत्येकमष्टविधत्वाच्चतुर्विंशतिधा षट्पदी।

चतुष्पदी वस्तुकं वान्तरसमार्द्धसमा संकीर्णा सर्वसमा च॥ १८॥

[1] परिमलु SA. [2] कुमु NA.

अथ षष्ठाध्यायस्य पर्यायाः प्रारभ्यन्ते। आद्ये छड्डुणिका चेत्यत्र। प्रथमे षट्पदीचतुष्पद्यौ संज्ञे। त्रिभिरतुल्यैरिति तुल्यकलालक्षणं वा अर्धसमं एकः पादोऽपरं द्वयं चान्यत्। अथवा सर्वैरप्यन्यैः॥ इअ नारिहिं इत्यत्र। एष रससारायाः नार्याः मुखपरिमललुब्धः सन्मुग्धः षट्पदगणः पार्श्वं न मुञ्चति। हु निश्चितम्॥ १॥ इअ उवजाइहिं इत्यत्र। गुञ्जद्बहुषट्पदं सारं प्रधानं केतकीस्फारं एतद्वनं कस्य रइं रतिं नार्पयति काभिः उपजातिभिः समीपस्थजातिभिः कथंभूताभिः सुरभितवाताभिः॥ २॥ इअ वणराइहि-मित्यत्र। एष षट्पदोऽभिनवजातिषु वनराजिषु परिभ्रमति क्व जलदागमसमये मेघसमये कीदृशः मालत्यां रक्तः

वस्तुकमिति चतुष्पद्या एव नामान्तरम् । तुल्यसमपादा तुल्यविषमपादा च अन्तरेण व्यवधानेन समान्तरसमा । तुल्यप्रथमद्वितीयपादा तुल्यतृतीयचतुर्थपादा चार्धं सममस्या अर्धसमा । व्यामिश्रा सङ्कीर्णा । तुल्यचतुष्पदा सर्वसमा । तत्रान्तरसमाः प्राह—

चतुष्पदी कला ओजे सप्ताद्याः षोडशान्ताः समे प्रत्येकं सैकाः सप्तदशान्ताः 'चम्पककुसुम-सामुद्रक-मल्हणक-सुभगविलास-केसर-रावण-हस्तक-सिंहविजृम्भित-मकरन्दिका-मधुकरविलसित-चम्पककुसुमावर्त्ताः । मणिरत्नप्रभा-कुङ्कुमतिलक-चम्पकशेखर-क्रीडनक-बकुलामोद-मन्मथतिलक-मालाविलसित-पुण्यामलक-नवकुसुमितपल्लवाः । मलयमारुत-मदनावास-माङ्गलिका-अभिसारिका-कुसुमनिरन्तर-मदनोदक-चन्द्रोद्योत-रत्नावल्यः । भ्रूचक्रणक-मुक्ताफलमाला-कोकिलावली-मधुकरवृन्द-केतकीकुसुम-नवविद्यु-न्माला-त्रिवलीतरङ्गकाणि । अरविन्दक-विभ्रमविलसितवदन-नवपुष्पन्धय-किन्नरमिथुनविलास-विद्याधरलीला-सारङ्गाः । कामिनीहास-अपदोहक-प्रेमविलास-काञ्चनमाला-जलधरविलसिताः । अभिनवमृगाङ्कलेखा-सहकार-कुसुममञ्जरी-कामिनीक्रीडनक-कामिनीकङ्कणहस्तकाः । मुखपालनतिलक-वसन्तलेखा-मधुरालापिनीहस्ताः ॥ मुखपङ्क्ति-कुसुमलतागृहे । रत्नमालेति पञ्चपञ्चाशद्भेदाः ॥ १९ ॥

ओजयोः सप्ताद्याः षोडशान्ताः कलाः समयोस्ता एवैकाधिकाद्याः सप्तदशान्ताः प्रत्येकं यत्र भवन्ति सा चतुष्पदी चम्पककुसुमादिसंज्ञा । अयमर्थः—ओजे सप्त कलाः समे सैकाद्या अष्टाद्याः सप्त-दशान्ता यत्र भवन्ति सा चम्पककुसुमादिभेदेन दशविधा । एवमोजेऽष्टकलाः समे सैकाद्या नवाद्याः सप्त-दशान्ता यत्र भवन्ति सा मणिरत्नप्रभादिभेदेन नवविधा । तथा ओजे नव समे सैकाद्याः दशाद्याः सप्त-दशान्ता यत्र भवन्ति सा चतुष्पदी मलयमारुतादिभेदेनाष्टविधा । यावदोजे षोडश समे सप्तदश यत्र भवन्ति सा रत्नमालासंज्ञा चतुष्पदी । एवं पञ्चपञ्चाशच्चतुष्पदीभेदाः । तत्रौजे सप्त समेऽष्टौ चम्पक-कुसुमम् । यथा—

अंगचंगिम । जइ गोरंगिहिं ॥
चंपयकुसुम । ता कह अग्घहिं ॥ ४ ॥

पुनः कीदृग् मधुरसमत्तः ॥ ३ ॥ तुल्यसमपादेति तुल्यौ सदृशौ समौ द्वितीयतुर्यौ पादौ यस्याः अथवा तुल्यौ विषमौ प्रथमतृतीयौ यस्याः इति लक्षणेनान्तरं व्यवधानं भवति ॥ अंगचंगिमेत्यत्र । यदि गौराङ्गया

ओजे सप्त समे नव सामुद्रकम्। यथा—

जइ बोल्लइ। धण[1] उक्कंठिअ ॥
सा मुद्दओ। मुहु कलयंठिअ॥ ५ ॥

ओजे सप्त समे दश मल्हणकम्। यथा—

कहिं हंसिहिं। तल्लोव्वेल्लणउं ॥
जउ दीसइ। गओ तहिं मल्हणउं ॥ ६ ॥

ओजे सप्त समे एकादश सुभगविलासः। यथा—

पइं विणु तहिं। सुहय विलासु कवणु ॥
विणु चंदइं। मुहु जामिणिहिं कवणु[2] ॥ ७ ॥

ओजे सप्त समे द्वादश केसरम्। यथा—

मेल्लि[3] माणु। वल्लहि करि अणुराओ[4] ॥
ओ उड्डिओ[5]। केसरकुसुमपराओ ॥ ८ ॥

ओजे सप्त समे त्रयोदश रावणहस्तकः। यथा—

लेहि वीण। करिं धरि रावणहत्थउ[6] ॥
जिनमज्जणि। सुरहिं दिन्नुसम्वहत्थउ ॥ ९ ॥

ओजे सप्त समे चतुर्दश सिंहविजृम्भितम्। यथा—

छुहखामुवि। जं मयजूहु न तिणु चरइ ॥
तं अज्जवि। सीहविअंभिउ विप्फुरइ ॥ १० ॥

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[1] घण Bom.; SA. [2] Read किवणु; see Com. [3] मेल्हि Com.
[4] अणुराउ Bom.; SA. [5] उद्दिओ Bom. [6] हत्थओ NA.

अङ्गचङ्गिमा स्यात्तदा चम्पककुसुमानि कथं अर्घ्यन्ते ॥ ४ ॥ जइ बोल्लइ इत्यत्र। यदि सा उत्कण्ठिता सती धन्या जल्पति तदा कलकण्ठी मुखं मुद्रयतु ॥ ५ ॥ कहिं हंसिहिं इत्यत्र। क्व हंस्याः तल्लं सरसी तत्रोद्वेल्लनकं क्रीडनकं क्वापि नेत्यर्थः। यदि तस्या गतं गमनं मल्हणकं सविलासं दृश्यते तदित्यर्थः ॥ ६ ॥ पइं विणु तहिमित्यत्र। हे सुभग त्वया विना कलाविलासः कवणु कीदृशो न किमपीत्यर्थः ॥ चन्द्रेण विना यथा यामिन्याः मुखं कृपणं दीनं भवतीत्यर्थः ॥ ७ ॥ मेल्हि माणु इत्यत्र। हे सखि मानं मुञ्च वल्लभेनुरागं कुरु। उत्ति पश्य केसरो वृक्षविशेषस्तस्य परागः। उड्डिओत्ति प्रसृतः व्याप्त इत्यर्थः ॥ वसन्तागमसूचनमिति। वसन्ते मदनातुरा भविष्यसि अतएव भर्तारं मानयेत्यर्थः ॥ ८ ॥ लेहि वीण करीत्यत्र। रावणहस्तकः आतोद्यं यत् पुरा दशास्येनाष्टापदे जिनेन्द्राणामग्रे स्वहस्तनसामुत्पाट्य वादितं त्रितन्त्रीरूपं वृद्धपंकं (?) वाद्यम्। वीणां लात्वा करे धृत्वा रावणहस्तकं जिनमज्जनसमये सुरैर्गानं कृतमित्यध्याहारः कथं दत्तसन्मुखहस्तकं यथा भवति तथा ॥ ९ ॥ छुहखामुवि इत्यत्र। क्षुत्क्षाममपि

ओजे सप्त समे पञ्चदश मकरन्दिका । यथा—

कुसुमंतरि । नवि लग्गइ अलि अवनिद्दियइं ॥
आसत्तओ । मालइहिं बहलमयरंदिअहिं ॥ ११ ॥

ओजे सप्त समे षोडश मधुकरविलसितम् । यथा—

जं जाइहिं । कित्ति दिअंतरु[1] धवलइ सयलु ॥
तं जाणसु[2] । माणिणि महुअरविलसिउ पवलु ॥ १२ ॥

ओजे सप्त समे सप्तदश चम्पककुसुमावर्तः । यथा—

निअइ झुणइ[3] । परिरंभइ चुम्बइ महुसुंडओ ।
अलि मुज्झइ । चंपयकुसुमावट्टि निबुड्डओ[4] ॥ १३ ॥

एवं दश । तथा ओजे अष्टौ समे नव मणिरत्नप्रभा । यथा—

मणिरयणपहा- । पयडिअगिरिगुहु ॥
साहइ भरहु । सयलुवि दिसिमुहु ॥ १४ ॥

ओजे अष्टौ समे दश कुङ्कुमतिलकम् । यथा—

रेहइ चंदो । नवपयडिअकलओ ।
पुव्वदिसाए । किर कुंकुमतिलओ ॥ १५ ॥

ओजे अष्टौ समे एकादश चम्पकशेखरः । यथा—

अलिरवगीई । कयचंपयसेहर[5] ॥
महुसमयसिरी । उअ[6] जणहु मणोहर ॥ १६ ॥

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[1] दिअतरु Bom. [2] माणसु Com. [3] मुणइ Bom.; झणइ SA.
[4] निबुहुओ Bom.; निबुट्टुओ NA. [5] सिहर Bom. [6] ओअ Bom.

यन्मृगयूथं तृणं न चरति तत्सिंहविजृम्भितमद्यापि स्फुरति ॥ १० ॥ कुसुमंतरीत्यत्र । अलिरपनिद्रे विकसिते कुसुमान्तरे न लगति बहलमकरन्दिकायां मालत्यामारक्तः सन् ॥ ११ ॥ जं जाइहिमित्यत्र । यत् जातिः कीर्त्या (जातेः कीर्तिः ?) धवलीकरोति किं दिगन्तरं तत् हे मानिनि मानय भ्रमरविलसितं अत्र अन्योक्तिः स्वप्रथा तस्या गौणकथनम् ॥ १२ ॥ निअइ झुणइ इत्यत्र । हे मित्र पश्य शौण्ड इव शौण्डो मद्यपः मत्तश्चासौ शौण्डश्च मत्तशौण्डोलिर्निरीक्षते ध्वनति परिरम्भति उपगूहति चुम्बति चम्पककुसुमावर्ते निमग्नः सन्मुह्यति मोहं भजति ॥ १३ ॥ मणिरयणेत्यत्र । मणिरत्नप्रभाभिः प्रकटिता गिरिगुम्फा यस्मात् स तथा एवंविधो भरतः साधयति सकलमपि दिङ्मुखम् ॥ १४ ॥ रेहइ चंदो इत्यत्र । राजते चन्द्रः नूतना प्रकटिता कला येन सः किलेति उत्प्रेक्षते पूर्वदिशः कुङ्कुमतिलकः ॥ १५ ॥ अलिरवेत्यत्र । अलिरव एव गीतिर्गानं यस्याः सा कृतश्चम्पक एव शेखरो या सा अयं स्त्रीधर्मः । एवंविधां जनानां

ओजे अष्टौ समे द्वादश क्रीडनकम् । यथा—

सहि वट्टुलओ[1] । चन्दुल्लओ पडिहाइ ॥
रयणिवहूए । कीलणगेंदुओ[2] नाइ ॥ १७ ॥

ओजे अष्टौ समे त्रयोदश बकुलामोदः । यथा—

मन्नावि प्रिओ । जइवि हु सो कयदुन्नओ ॥
जं महमहेइ[3] । दुसहउ बउलामोअओ[4] ॥ १८ ॥

ओजे अष्टौ समे चतुर्दश मन्मथतिलकम् । यथा—

निम्मलि गयणि । समुग्गओ चंदु विहावइ ॥
रइए[5] रइओ । वम्महतिलओ[6] नवु नावइ ॥ १९ ॥

ओजे अष्टौ समे पञ्चदश मालाविलसितम् । यथा—

कमलिणिपासि । अलिमाला विलसिअ[7] संपइ ॥
कलरवमिसिण । किर मित्तसमागमु जंपइ ॥ २० ॥

ओजे अष्टौ समे षोडश पुण्यामलकम् । यथा—

मइं असरण तुहुं । अइनिद्दय[8] नडसि कुसुमाउह[9] ।
जं किर पुण्णा[10] । मलयसमीरिण सयलवि कउह[11] ॥ २१ ॥

ओजे अष्टौ समे सप्तदश नवकुसुमितपल्लवः । यथा—

कंपिअ निअवि । नवकुसुमिअपल्लव सललिअ लय ॥
संभरि दइअ । पंथिअसत्थ तक्खणि गय विलय ॥ २२ ॥

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[1] वट्टुलओ Bom. [2] गंडुओ Bom.; गंदुउ NA. [3] महमहइ NA.; SA.
[4] मोअउ Bom.; NA.; SA. [5] रइए Bom. [6] तिलउ SA.
[7] विलसइ ? Com. [8] निद्दयं Bom. [9] कुसुमहि उह Bom.
[10] पुप्फा Bom. [11] कओह SA.

मनोहरां मधुसमयश्रीं पश्य विलोकयेत्यर्थः ॥ १६ ॥ सहि वट्टुलउ इत्यत्र । हे सखि वृत्तश्चन्द्रः प्रतिभाति नाइ इति उत्प्रेक्षते रजनीवध्वाः क्रीडागेन्दुकः ॥ १७ ॥ मन्नावि इत्यत्र । हे सखि यद्यपि कृतदुर्नयः प्रियो वर्तते तथापि मन्नावीति आत्मसात्कुरु यस्मान्महमहेति गन्धं भजते कः दुःसहो बकुलामोदः वसन्तागमसूचनमिति ॥ १८ ॥ निम्मलि गयणीत्यत्र । निर्मले गगने समुद्गतश्चन्द्रो विभाति नावइति इवार्थे विभाव्यते रत्या रचितो मन्मथतिलक इव ॥ १९ ॥ कमलिणिपासीत्यत्र । कमलिनीपार्श्वे सांप्रतं अलिमाला विलसति किलेति संभाव्यते ॥ कलरवमिषेण मित्रस्य सूर्यस्य समागमं जपति कथयति ॥ २० ॥ मइं असरण इत्यत्र । तस्मात्कारणात् हे कुसुमायुध मां अशरणां खेदयसि यस्मान्मलयसमीरणेन सकला अपि ककुभः पूर्णाः ॥ २१ ॥ कंपिअ निअवीत्यत्र । कम्पिताः निअवीति दृष्ट्वा कुसुमितपल्लवाः सलीला लता

एवं नव। तथा ओजे नव समे दश मलयमारुतः। यथा—

देक्खिवि वेल्लडी। मलयमारुअधुआ ॥
सुमरिवि गोरडि। पंथिअसत्थ मुआ ॥ २३ ॥

ओजे नव समे एकादश मदनावासः यथा—

जं धणलोअण-। झसझय। चल दीसहिं।
मयणावासउ। तं थणगुद्दुरि[1] सइ ॥ २४ ॥

ओजे नव समे द्वादश माङ्गलिका। यथा—

प्रियमहुसंगमि। ओअ[2] मंगलिअइं करइं।
किंसुअरूविण। वणसिरि घट्टइं धरइ ॥ २५ ॥

ओजे नव समे त्रयोदश अभिसारिका। यथा—

काली रत्तडी। घणिहिं नहंगणु रुद्धओ[3] ॥
तोवि न वट्टहिं। अहिसारिअजणु खुद्धओ[4] ॥ २६ ॥

ओजे नव समे चतुर्दश कुसुमनिरन्तरः। यथा—

सिद्धत्थ पुलय। कुसुम निरन्तरु हसिओ सिओ ॥
नवदइआगमि। अंगिजि मंगलु घणइ किउ[5] ॥ २७ ॥

ओजे नव समे पञ्चदश मदनोदकम्। यथा—

घणरव दूसहा। दूहवइ मयणोदओ[6] हिअओ[7] ॥
पिअदूरट्ठिआ। पवसिअरमणिअणु कह जिअओ[8] ॥२८ ॥

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[1] घणगुहिर Bom.; थणगुदुरि SA. [2] उअ Com. [3] रुद्धउं NA.
[4] खुद्दओ Bom. [5] किसउ NA. [6] मयणोदउ SA.
[7] हिअउ SA. [8] जिअउ SA.

स्मृत्वा च दयितां पथिकसार्थः विलयं मरणं प्राप्तः ॥ २२ ॥ देक्खिवीत्यत्र। दृष्ट्वा का मलयमारुतधुना वल्लीस्ततो गौरीः स्मृत्वा ता अपि चञ्चलरूपा भवन्ति पथिकसार्थो मृतः ॥ २३ ॥ जं धण इत्यत्र। यत् धन्याया लोचनान्येव झषध्वजाः मत्स्यकेतवश्चला दृश्यन्ते लोचनानि हि चपलत्वात् मीनरूपाणि वर्ण्यन्ते तत् ज्ञायते मदनावासाः स्तनप्रदेशे सन्तीति ॥ २४ ॥ प्रियमहुसंगमीत्यत्र। उअत्ति पश्य वनश्रीः प्रियो वल्लभो यो मधुर्वसन्तस्तस्य संगमे संबन्धे माङ्गलिकानि करोति किंशुकरूपेण घट्टयुगलं दधाति घटो घाटडीति प्रसिद्धा ॥ २५ ॥ काली रत्तेत्यत्र। रात्रिः कृष्णा तथा गगनाङ्गणं घनैरुद्धं तथापि मार्गे अभिसारिकाजनो न क्षुब्धो भीत्यभाव इत्यर्थः ॥ २६ ॥ सिद्धत्थेत्यत्र। पुलका एव सिद्धार्थाः सितं हसितं कुसुमानि निरन्तरं नवदयितसंगमे अङ्गे मङ्गलं भार्यया कृतम् ॥ २७ ॥ घणरवदूसहेत्यत्र। घनानां रवा दुःसहा

ओजे नव समे षोडश चन्द्रोद्योत: । यथा—

कोइलकलरवु । चंदणु चंदुज्जोअविलासु ॥
वल्लहसंगमि । अमयरसु ; विरहि जलिउ हुआसु ॥ २९ ॥

ओजे नव समे सप्तदश रत्नावली । यथा—

मालइमालहिं । अलि सहहिं नवमयरंदसइण्ह ।
नं[1] रयणावलि । नीलमय पाउसदइइण[2] दिण्ण ॥ ३० ॥

एवमष्ट । तथा ओजे दश समे एकादश भ्रूचक्रणकम् । यथा—

रेहइ तरुणिअणु[3] । भूचंकणचंगओ ।
आणावइ नाइ । तिहुअणजइ अंगओ[4] ॥ ३१ ॥

ओजे दश समे द्वादश मुक्ताफलमाला । यथा—

तारावलि भणि मा । भणि मुत्ताहलमाली ॥
रइकलहिण त्रुट्टी । ससिरयणिहुं सुविसालि ॥ ३२ ॥

ओजे दश समे त्रयोदश कोकिलावली । यथा—

कोइलावलिकए । संगीअइ नच्चावओ(उ) ।
नवलयविलयाओ । मलयानिलु[5] नट्टावउ ॥ ३३ ॥

ओजे दश समे चतुर्दश मधुकरवृन्दम् । यथा—

फुल्लियलय निअवि । महुअरवंद्रिण[6] गीउ तह ॥
बाहोल्लयनयण । पयमवि पहिअ न दिंति जह ॥ ३४ ॥

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[1] न Bom.; णं Com. [2] पाओसदइसदा SA. [3] अणू SA.
[4] अणंगओ ? see Com. [5] मलयानिल NA. [6] वंदिण SA.

दुनोति मदनोदयो हृदयं प्रियदूरस्थित: दूरस्थितधनिक: प्रोषितानां रमणीजन: कथं जीवति ॥ २८ ॥ कोइलकलेत्यत्र । कोकिलकलरव: चन्दनं चन्द्रोद्योतविलास: एतान्येव वल्लभसंगमेऽमृतरस: विरहे सति तान्येव ज्वलितो हुताश: ॥ २९ ॥ मालइमालहिं इत्यत्र । मालतीमालायां अलय: शोभन्ते कीदृशा अलय: नवमकरन्दसतृष्णा: किमित्यध्याहार: । प्रावृड्-दयितेन दत्ता नीलेन्द्रमयी रत्नावलीव । णं इति उपमानार्थ: ॥ ३० ॥ रेहइ इत्यत्र । राजते तरुणीजन: भ्रूचक्रेण चङ्ग इवोत्प्रेक्षते त्रिभुवनजयी अनङ्ग: आज्ञापयति जनानामिति शेष: ॥ ३१ ॥ तारावलीत्यत्र । हे सुभग तारावलीं मा भण । किं तर्हि मुक्ताफलमालां भण रतिकलहेन त्रुटितां शशिरजन्यो: सुविशालाम् ॥ ३२ ॥ कोइलावलीत्यत्र । कोकिलावलीकृते संगीतके नर्तयतु नवलतावनिता: कर्म मलयानिल एव नर्तक: ॥ ३३ ॥ फुल्लिअलयेत्यत्र । पुष्पितलता: नियवि दृष्ट्वा

ओजे दश समे पञ्चदश केतकीकुसुमम् । यथा—

बिंबालिउ भुवणु । नवकेयइकुसुमपराइण[1] ॥
नं अहिवासिअउं । मयरद्धयकम्मणजोइण ॥ ३५ ॥

ओजे दश समे षोडश नवविद्युन्माला । यथा—

ओ चलचलंतिआ । विप्फुरेइ नवविज्जुमालिआ ॥
मेहरक्खसस्स[2] । जीहिअव्व[3] दीहरकरालिआ ॥ ३६ ॥

ओजे दश समे सप्तदश त्रिवलीतरङ्गकम् । यथा—

दीहरच्छिआए[4] । पेच्छ सहए तिवलीतरंगयं ॥
कयतिहुअणविजए । लीहतिअं पिव कामिण कड्ढिअं[5] ॥ ३७ ॥

एवं सप्त । तथा ओजे एकादश समे द्वादश अरविन्दकम् । यथा—

प्रियहि मुहु अरविन्दु । चलनयण इन्दिन्दिरु ॥
दन्तकन्ति केसरु । लच्छिविलासमन्दिरु ॥ ३८ ॥

ओजे एकादश समे त्रयोदश विभ्रमविलसितवदनम् । यथा—

कुइ धन्नु जुआणउ । विअसिअदीहरनयणिए[6] ॥
माणिज्जइ तरुणिए । विब्भमविलसियवयणिए ॥ ३९ ॥

ओजे एकादश समे चतुर्दश नवपुष्पन्धयम् । यथा—

सहि पंकोप्पन्नुवि । कमलु तं सलहिओ[7] बुहसइहिं ।
जं रसउद्धुसिअहिं[8] । पिज्जइ नवफुल्लंधुअहिं ॥ ४० ॥

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[1] परायण NA. [2] महरक्खसस्स Bom. [3] जोहिअव्व Bom.
[4] दीहरच्छीआए Bom. [5] कढ्ढिअं Bom. [6] नयणीए SA.
[7] लसहिओ Bom. [8] उद्धुसिएहिं SA.

मधुकरवृन्देन तथा गीतं यथा बाष्पार्द्रितनयना: पदमपि न ददति के पथिका: ॥ ३४ ॥ बिंबालिउ इत्यत्र । नूतनकेतकीपरागेण भुवनं बिंबालिउत्ति व्याप्तम् । नमिति उत्प्रेक्षायाम् । मकरध्वजकार्मणयोगेनाधिवासितमिव ॥ ३५ ॥ ओ चलेत्यत्र । विस्फुरति नवविद्युन्मालिका इवोत्प्रेक्षते मेघराक्षसस्य दीर्घा कराला जिह्वेव ॥ ३६ ॥ दीहरच्छिआए इत्यत्र । दीर्घाक्ष्या: पश्य राजते त्रिवलीतरङ्गितं त्रिभुवनविजये कृते कामेन रेखात्रिकमिव कर्षितं न मत्सदृशो भुवनत्रये कोपि जयीति भाव: ॥ ३७ ॥ प्रिअहि मुहु इत्यत्र । प्रियाया: मुखं कमलं वर्तते चलनेत्रौ(त्रे) भ्रमरौ दन्तकान्ति: केसराणि लक्ष्मीविलासमन्दिरम् ॥ ३८ ॥ कुइ धन्नु इत्यत्र । कोपि धन्यो युवा विकसितदीर्घनयनया तरुण्या मान्यते कीदृश्या विभ्रमविलसितवदनया । तस्या रूपोत्कर्ष: ॥ ३९ ॥ सहि पंकोप्पन्नुवीत्यत्र । हे सखि तत्कमलं बुधशतै:

ओजे एकादश समे पञ्चदश किन्नरमिथुनविलासः। यथा—

अविरहिअहं मुइअहं। हरिणहंजि रइसुहु सलीसए।
पर एम्वइ कीम्वइ[1]। जसु[2] किन्नरमिहुणविलासए ॥ ४१ ॥

ओजे एकादश समे षोडश विद्याधरलीला। यथा—

मुद्धइ गिज्जंतउं। तुहु कन्नरसायणु गीउ सुणि ॥
जिण ओहामिज्जइ। विज्जाहरलीलागीइझुणि ॥ ४२ ॥

ओजे एकादश समे सप्तदश सारङ्गः। यथा—

भीरुवि चंदट्ठिओ। वरि परिमुणिअनावु[3] सारंगओ ॥
सीहु न सलहिज्जइ। जइविहुं दलिअमत्तमायंगओ ॥ ४३ ॥

एवं षट्। तथा ओजे द्वादश समे त्रयोदश कामिनीहासः। यथा—

मणहरु तुहु मुहसररुहु[4]। रयणीअरविब्भमु धरइ ॥
कामिणि हासविलासुवि। जोण्हापसरहु अणुहरइ ॥ ४४ ॥

ओजे द्वादश समे चतुर्दश अपदोहकः। यथा—

एत्थु[5] करिमि भणि काइं। प्रिउ न गणइ लग्गी पाइ ॥
छड्डेविणु[6] हउं मुक्की। अवदोहय जिम्व किर गावि ॥ ४५ ॥

ओजे द्वादश समे पञ्चदश प्रेमविलासः। यथा—

कित्तिओ[7] वण्णउं मयणु। किअउ जिण सोवि नारायणु[8] ॥
तहु गोवालीअणहु। घणपिम्मविलासपरायणु ॥ ४६ ॥

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[1] काम्वइ SA. [2] नमु SA. [3] परिमुणिअनाम्वु NA.
[4] सररुहु NA. [5] इत्थु Com. [6] छड्डेविणु Bom.; SA.
[7] कित्तिउं NA.; Com. [8] नरायणु SA.

सलहिउं श्लाघितं यत् रसोद्धुषितैः पुष्पंधयैः पीयते। पङ्कोत्पन्नमिति निन्दा ॥ ४० ॥ अविरहिअहं इत्यत्र। अविरहितानां मुदितानां हरिणानामेव रतिसुखं श्लिष्यति भवतीति। परमेवमेव कथमपि यशः किन्नरमिथुनविलासे। दम्पत्योः प्रीत्युपरि तस्योपमानात् ॥ ४१ ॥ मुद्धइ गिज्जंतउं इत्यत्र। मुग्धया गीयमानं त्वं कर्णरसायनं गीतं शृणु येन गीतेन विद्याधरलीलागतिः (read गीतिः) पराभूयते निराक्रियते इत्यर्थः ॥ ४२ ॥ भीरुवीत्यत्र। भीरुरपि चन्द्रस्थितः वरः प्रधानः कः विख्यातनामा सारङ्गो हरिणः परं सिंहो न श्लाघ्यते यद्यपि दलितमत्तमातङ्गः ॥ ४३ ॥ मणहरु तुहेत्यत्र। हे सुभगे तव मुखसरोरुहं रजनीकरविभ्रमं धरति। हे कामिनि तव हास्यं ज्योत्स्नाप्रसरं अनुहरति तच्छीलं भजतीत्यर्थः ॥ ४४ ॥ इत्थु करिमि भणीत्यत्र। हे सखि अत्रार्थे किं करोमि भण कथय प्रियो न गणयति मामिति शेषः। किंच पादपतिताप्यहं त्यक्त्वा मुक्ताऽपदोहका दोहविहीना यथा गौर्मुच्यते ॥ ४५ ॥ कित्तिउं वण्णउं इत्यत्र।

ओजे द्वादश समे षोडश काञ्चनमाला। यथा—

दीसइ सुरधणुलट्ठी। साम्वलगोरवण्ण[1]सोहिल्ली॥
मरगयकंचणमाली। णं घणलच्छिहि कंठि नवल्ली॥ ४७॥

ओजे द्वादश समे सप्तदश जलधरविलसिता। यथा—

पिक्खिऊण[2] गयणयलि। नवजलहरविलसिअ चलविज्जुल॥
संभरंति निअपिअहं। पहिअदइअ गलिअंसुअकज्जल॥ ४८॥

एवं पञ्च। तथा ओजे त्रयोदश समे चतुर्दशाऽभिनवमृगाङ्कलेखा। यथा—

नहयलवराहदाढिआ। वारुणिवहूइ णिडालिआ॥
अहिणवमिअंकलेहिआ। उप्पइ[3] पीइं निहालिआ॥ ४९॥

ओजे त्रयोदश समे पञ्चदश सहकारकुसुममञ्जरी। यथा—

वणलच्छिकणयरसणिआ[4]। कुसुमाउहविजयपडाइया॥
सहयारकुसुममंजरी। ओअह[5] महुसमएण पयडिआ॥ ५०॥

ओजे त्रयोदश समे षोडश कामिनीक्रीडनकम्। यथा—

नहलच्छिभालतिलअओ। दिसिकामिणिकीलणगंदुअओ[6]॥
रेहइ पुण्ण[7]मयंकओ। मयणाहिसेअअमयकलसओ॥ ५१॥

ओजे त्रयोदश समे सप्तदश कामिनीकङ्कणहस्तकः। यथा—

कवणु सु धन्नउ जिण विणु। कामिणिकंकण हत्थओ विअलहिं॥
अन्नु कि एम्वइ ससिमुहि। हिंडइ उन्नमिइहिं करकमलिहिं॥ ५२॥

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[1] गोरवण Bom. [2] पेक्खिऊण Com. [3] उप्पहि SA.
[4] रमणिआ Bom. [5] उअह Com. [6] गंडुअओ NA.
[7] पुप्फ Bom.

मदनं कियद्वर्णयामि येन सोपि नारायणः तथा कृतः। तयेति कथम्। गोपालिकानां घनप्रेमपरायणः तत्परः इत्यर्थः॥ ४६॥ दीसइ सुरेत्यत्र। दृश्यते सुरधनुर्यष्टिः श्यामलगौरवर्णेन शोभनशीला। णमिति इवोत्प्रेक्षते। मरकतकाञ्चनमाला घनलक्ष्म्याः कण्ठे नूतना॥ ४७॥ पेक्खिऊणेत्यत्र। प्रेक्ष्य गगनतले नवजलधरविलसितं चलविद्युत् स्मरन्ति निजप्रियान् स्वकीयप्रियान् पथिकदयिता गलिताश्रुकज्जलाः॥ ४८॥ नहयलेत्यत्र। अभिनवमृगाङ्कलेखा निभालिता दृष्टा सती प्रीतिमर्पयति इयं किं नभस्तलवराहदाढिका अथवा वारुणीदिग्वध्वा ललाटिकातिलकिका इत्यर्थः॥ ४९॥ वणलच्छिकणयेत्यत्र। हे सुभगे उअह पश्य त्वं मधुसमयेन सहकारमञ्जरीः प्रकटिताः इवोत्प्रेक्षते वनलक्ष्मीकनकमेखला अथवा कुसुमायुधविजय-पताकिका॥ ५०॥ नहलच्छिभालेत्यत्र। पूर्णमृगाङ्कः शोभते इवोत्प्रेक्षते नभस्तललक्ष्मीभालतिलकं दिक्कामिनीक्रीडनगेन्दुकः दडउ (?) इति प्रतीतं अथवा मदनाभिषेकायामृतकलशः॥ ५१॥ कवणु

एवं चत्वारः। तथा ओजे चतुर्दश समे पञ्चदश मुखपालनतिलकः। यथा—

इह माहवि वम्महनिलय। मलयानिलहल्लिरकिसलय ॥
ओ दीसहिं कुसुमाओलय। कामिणिहुं मुहवालण तिलय ॥ ५३ ॥

ओजे चतुर्दश समे षोडश वसन्तलेखा। यथा—

कुविदो मयणो महाभडो। वणलच्छी अ वसंतरेहिआ ॥
कह जीवउ मामि विरहिणी। मिउमलयानिलफंसमोहिआ ॥ ५४ ॥

ओजे चतुर्दश समे सप्तदश मधुरालापिनीहस्तः। यथा—

सुन्दरु तं किओ एहु[1] सहि। पिओ जं मण्णिउ[2] विणयनिसण्णओ ॥
तसु अवराहहं सव्वहंवि। महुरालाविणि हत्थु विइण्णओ ॥ ५५ ॥

एवं त्रयः। तथा। ओजे पञ्चदश समे षोडश मुखपङ्क्तिः। यथा—

परनरमुहुपेच्छणविरयए। पय[3]नहमणिपडिबिंबिअ जि परि ॥
दहमुहमुहपंति पलोइआ। सीअए भयविम्हयहासकरि ॥ ५६ ॥

ओजे पञ्चदश समे सप्तदश कुसुमलतागृहम्। यथा—

जलइ[4] जइवि कुसुमलयाहरु। तवइ चंदु जह गिम्हि दिवायरु ॥
तुवि ईसाभरपरितरलिअ। पिअसहिवयणु न मन्नइ बालिअ ॥ ५७ ॥

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[1] एहु Bom. [2] मणिउ Bom.; SA. [3] पहु Bom.; SA.
[4] जइ(वि)जलइ Com.

सु धन्नउ इत्यत्र। कः स धन्यो येन विना कामिन्याः कङ्कणानि हस्ताद्विगलन्ति। अन्याः मुग्धाः हे शशिमुखि हिण्डन्ते उन्नमिति ऊर्ध्वीकृतैः करकमलैः अपि तु न काप्येवं हिण्डते त्वं तु उर्ध्वीकृतकरकमला हिण्डसे तेन ज्ञायते तव करकङ्कणानि गलन्ति हस्तयोः ॥ ५२ ॥ इह माहवि वम्महेत्यत्र। इह माधवे वसन्ते मन्मथनिलय-मलयानिलचलत्किसलयाः दृश्यन्ते कुसुमामुलकाः (कुसुमावलग्नाः ?) कामिनीनां मुखवालनाः तिलका वृक्षाः। कामिनीनां मुखवालना इति कोर्थः गच्छन्त्योपि मुखं पश्चादभिमुखं कृत्वा निरीक्षन्ते ॥ ५३ ॥ कुविदो मयणो इत्यत्र। कुपितो मदनो महाभटः च पुनः वनलक्ष्मीर्वसन्तेन रेखिता शोभिता। मामीति मन्ये। इदानीं मृदुमलयानिलस्पर्शमोहिता विरहिणी कथं जीवतु अपि तु नेति ॥ ५४ ॥ सुन्दरु तमित्यत्र। सुन्दरं तत्कृतं एतत्सखि यत्प्रियो मानितो विनयनिषण्णोऽवनतः सन् तस्य प्रियस्य सर्वेषामप्यपराधानां मधुरालापकेन हस्तो वितीर्णः कृतजलाञ्जलिरित्यर्थः ॥ ५५ ॥ परनरमुहेत्यत्र। परनरमुखप्रेक्षणविरतया शी(सी)तया पदनखमणिप्रतिबिम्बितैव दशमुखमुखपङ्क्तिः परं केवलं प्रलोकिता नापरा। कथंभूता भयविस्मयहासकरी। भयं परपुरुषदर्शनात् विस्मयहास्ये च बहुमुखत्वेन ॥ ५६ ॥ जइ जलईत्यत्र। यद्यपि कुसुमलतागृहं ज्वलति चन्द्रोपि ग्रीष्मे दिवाकरवत् तपति तथापि भर्तुरन्यत्र गत्वागतत्वात् बालिका भर्तृसखीवचनं नाङ्गीकुरुते कीदृशी ईर्ष्याभरेण परितरला चञ्चला कोपप्रादुर्भावे चञ्चला भवति ॥ ५७ ॥

एवं द्वे । ओजे षोडश समे सप्तदश रत्नमाला । यथा--

करवालपहारिण उच्छलिअ[1] । करिसिरमुत्ताहलरयणमाला ॥
रेहइ समरंगणि जयसिरिए । उक्खिविअ नाइ सयंवरमाला ॥ ५८ ॥

अत्रैक: । एवं पञ्चपञ्चाशद्भेदा: ।

व्यत्यये सुमनोरमा-पङ्कज-कुञ्जर-मदनातुर-भ्रमरावली-पङ्कजश्री-किङ्किणी-कुङ्कुमलता-शशिशेखर-लीलालयाः । चन्द्रहास-गोरोचना-कुसुमबाण-मालतीकुसुम-नागकेसर-नवचम्पकमाला-विद्याधर-कुब्जककुसुम-कुसुमास्तरणाः । मधुकरीसंलाप-सुखावास-कुङ्कुमलेखा-कुवलयदाम-कलहंस-सन्ध्यावली-कुञ्जरललिता-कुसुमावल्यः । विद्युल्लता-पञ्चानन-ललिता-मरकतमाला-अभिनववसन्तश्री-मनोहरा-क्षिप्तिका-किन्नरलीलाः । मकरध्वजहास-कुसुमाकुलमधुकर-भ्रमरविलास-मदनविलास-विद्याधरहास-कुसुमायुधशेखराः । उपदोहक-दोहक-चन्द्रलेखिका-सुतालिङ्गन-कङ्केल्लिलताभवनानि। कुसुमितकेतकीहस्त-कुञ्जरविलसित-राजहंस–अशोकपल्लवच्छायाः। अनङ्गललिता-मन्मथविलसित–ओहुल्लणकानि। कज्जललेखा-किलिकिञ्चिते । शशिबिम्बितं चेति तावद्वा ॥ २० ॥

व्यत्यय इति समे सप्ताद्याः षोडशान्ताः कला ओजे सैकाद्याः सप्तदशान्ताः प्रत्येकं पूर्ववत्सुमनोरमादिसंज्ञाश्चतुष्पद्यो भवन्ति । तत्र समे सप्तकलाः ओजे अष्टौ यत्र भवन्ति सा सुमनोरमा । यथा—

केआराव । करि मोर मा ॥
दूरि स गोरी । सुमनोरमा ॥ ५९ ॥

समे सप्त ओजे नव पङ्कजम् । यथा--

निअवि वयणु तहिं । विब्भमपओ[2] ॥
[3]नं विहिण खित्तु । द्रहि पंकओ[4] ॥ ६० ॥

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[1] उच्छलिल Bom. [2] विब्भम एओ SA.; विब्भमपउ NA.
[3] न NA. [4] पंकउ NA.

करवालेत्यत्र । समराङ्गणे करवालप्रहारात् करिशीर्षात् उच्छलिता मुक्ताफलरत्नमाला इह शोभते इवोत्प्रेक्षते जयश्रिया स्वयंवरमाला उत्क्षिप्ता ऊर्ध्वीकृता । नाइ इवार्थे ॥ ५८ ॥ केआराव इत्यत्र । हे मयूर त्वं केकारवं मा कुरु । सा गौरी दूरे वर्तते कीदृशी अतिशयेन मनोरमा सुन्दरी ॥ ५९ ॥ निअवि वयणु इत्यत्र । दृष्ट्वा वदनं तस्या विभ्रमो भ्रूसमुद्भवो विलासस्तस्य पदं । नमिवार्थे । विधिना

समे सप्त ओजे दश कुञ्जरः । यथा—

गज्जइ घणमाला । घणघडहड ॥
नं मयणनिवइणो । कुंजरघड ॥ ६१ ॥

समे सप्त ओजे एकादश मदनातुरः । यथा—

खलिअक्खरउं वयणु । मुहु पंडरु ॥
तुह अक्खइ सहि । मणु मयणाउरु ॥ ६२ ॥

समे सप्त ओजे द्वादश भ्रमरावली । यथा—

ओ रणझणंत[1] भमइ । भमरावलि ॥
मयणधणुह गुणवल्लि । णं सामलि ॥ ६३ ॥

समे सप्त ओजे त्रयोदश पङ्कजश्रीः । यथा—

तहि भुमयहि पडिछंदुलो । धणु मयणह ॥
नवपंकयसिरि सोअरी । तसु वयणह ॥ ६४ ॥

समे सप्त ओजे चतुर्दश किङ्किणी । यथा—

ससिणा रयणीए रइभरे । उल्लालिआ[2] ॥
किंकिणिआउ न हु इमा । उडुमालिआ ॥ ६५ ॥

समे सप्त ओजे पञ्चदश कुङ्कुमलता । यथा—

गोरडिअहिं उवमिअइ न[3] पर । अच्चब्भुअ ॥
जइ किर हवइ फुल्लिअफलिअ । कुंकुमलय ॥ ६६ ॥

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[1] रणरणंत Com. [2] उल्लालिअओ Bom.

[3] Is it त पर (' then alone ') ? See Com. (परं . . .तदा).

पङ्कजं ह्रदे क्षिप्तम् । तस्या मुखतुलां दधत् ब्रह्मणा जलाशये क्षिप्तमिति भावः ॥ ६० ॥ गज्जइ घणमालेत्यत्र । घनो निबिडो घडहड-शब्दविशेषो यस्याः सा घनमाला गर्जति । नमिवार्थे । इवोत्प्रेक्षते । मदननृपस्य कुञ्जरघटा ॥ ६१ ॥ खलिअक्खरउं इत्यत्र । हे सखि वचनं स्खलिताक्षरं मुखं च पाण्डुरं उभयं कर्तृ मनः कर्म आख्याति मनः कीदृशं मदनातुरम् ॥ ६२ ॥ (Add ओ) रणरणंतेत्यत्र । हे सखि पश्य रणरणन्ती शब्दं कुर्वाणा भ्रमरावली भ्रमति इवोत्प्रेक्षते श्यामा मदनधनुषः गुणवल्ली ज्या इति भावः ॥ ६३ ॥ तहि भुमयहि इत्यत्र । तस्या भ्रुवोः प्रतिच्छन्दो धनुर्मदनस्य । तस्या वदनस्य सोदरा नवपङ्कजश्रीः ॥ ६४ ॥ ससिणा रयणीए इत्यत्र । शशिना रजन्या रतिभरे क्रीडासमये उल्लालिताः किंकिणिका घुर्घुरिकाः न खलु इमाः उडुमाला नक्षत्रमालाः ॥ ६५ ॥ गोरडित्यत्र । परं केवलं कुङ्कुमलतया तदा गौर्यः उपमीयन्ते यदि किल भवति सा पुष्पिता फलिता सती अत्यद्भुता । तस्या घर्मद्वयं

समे सप्त ओजे षोडश शशिशेखरः । यथा—

लंघइ सायर गिरि आरुहहि । तुह अहंग ॥
ससिसेहरहसिउज्जल नउक्खी । कित्तिगंग ॥ ६७ ॥

समे सप्त ओजे सप्तदश लीलालयः । यथा—

जं सहि कोइल कलु पुक्कारइ । फुल्लु तिलओ[1] ॥
तं पत्तु वसंतु मासु कामहु । लीलालओ ॥ ६८ ॥

एवं दश । तथा समेऽष्टावोजे नव चन्द्रहासः । यथा—

रेहइ तुह करि । चंदहासओ ॥
नं रिउसिरीए । केसपासओ ॥ ६९ ॥

समेऽष्टावोजे दश गोरोचना । यथा—

गोरोअणगोरी[2] । '[3]तुब्भ कओलु' ॥
पडिमाइ चुंबइ । ससहरु लोलु ॥ ७० ॥

समेऽष्टावोजे एकादश कुसुमबाणः । यथा—

जसु लोहचक्किणवि[4] । न दलिओ झाणु ॥
तहिं वीरि[5] किं करउ । स कुसुमबाणु ॥ ७१ ॥

समेऽष्टावोजे द्वादश मालतीकुसुमम् । यथा—

मालइकुसुमु[6] न लेइ । चंदणु चयइ ।
तुह दंसण[7]उम्माही । मग्गु जि निअइ ॥ ७२ ॥

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[1] निलओ Bom. [2] गोरी SA. [3] तुज्झ कलुउ SA.
[4] लोहवक्किणवि SA. [5] वीरी SA. [6] कुसुम NA.
[7] दंसणु SA.

कविमतेन वर्ण्यते इति ॥ ६६ ॥ लंघइ सायर इत्यत्र । हे राजन् तव कीर्तिगङ्गाऽपूर्वा वर्तते यतः सागरं लङ्घते गिरीनारोहति कीदृशी शशिशेखरहसितोज्ज्वला अभङ्गा अत्रुटितेत्यर्थः ॥ ६७ ॥ जं सहि कोइलेत्यत्र । हे सखि यत्कोकिला मधुरं व्याहरति यच्च (add फुल्लितः) तिलकवृक्षः तत्संभाव्यते कामस्य लीलालयः वसन्तमासः प्राप्त इत्यर्थः ॥ ६८ ॥ रेहइ तुह इत्यत्र । तव करे चन्द्रहासः शोभते इवोत्प्रेक्षते रिपुश्रियः केशपाशो वेणीदण्डः ॥ ६९ ॥ गोरोअणेत्यत्र । हे गोरोचनागौरि तव कपोलं प्रतिमया प्रतिबिम्बेन चुम्बति शशधरश्चन्द्रः कीदृशो लोलश्चञ्चलः ॥ ७० ॥ जसु लोहचक्किणवीत्यत्र । यस्य भगवतः लोहचक्रेणापि संगमाधममुक्तेनापि ध्यानं न दलितं तस्मिन्वीरे किं करोति स कुसुमायुधोपि तु न किमपीत्यर्थः ॥ ७१ ॥ मालइकुसुमेत्यत्र । हे सुभग तव दर्शनोत्कण्ठिता बाला मालतीकुसुमं न लाति न

समेऽष्टावोजे त्रयोदश नागकेसरः । यथा—

दीसइ उववणि फुल्लिओ । नायकेसरो ॥
नं माहविण वणसिरिहि । दिण्णु[1] सेहरो ॥ ७३ ॥

समेऽष्टावोजे चतुर्दश नवचम्पकमाला । यथा—

तणु नवचंपयमाल जिण । करकम कमला ।
सहि तुहुं माहवलच्छि तिण । परिमलबहुला[2] ॥ ७४ ॥

समेऽष्टावोजे पञ्चदश विद्याधरः । यथा—

मुहि करिवि मयलंछणु[3] गुलिअ[4] । गुलिआसिद्धिं ॥
विज्जाहरिण जिम्व वम्महिण । जगु जिउ बुद्धिं ॥ ७५ ॥

समेऽष्टावोजे षोडश कुब्जककुसुमम् । यथा—

पेच्छंतहु[5] नवमालइ ललिअ । परिमलअसम[6] ।
भमरहु किम्व मणु रंजहि णवरि । कुज्जयकुसुम ॥ ७६ ॥

समेऽष्टावोजे सप्तदश कुसुमास्तरणम् । यथा—

मलयानिलु मलयजरसु ससहरु । कुसुमत्थरणु ॥
विरहानलजलिअहि तसु सव्वुवि[7] । तणुसंतवणु ॥ ७७ ॥

एवं नव । तथा समे नव ओजे दश मधुकरीसंलापः । यथा—

निसुणिअ माइंदइ । महुअरिसंलावु ॥
ओ पवसिअतरुणिहिं[8] । पत्थुअओ पलावु ॥ ७८ ॥

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[1] दिण्ण Bom. [2] बहल Bom.; NA. [3] मयलंलणु Bom.
[4] गुलिआ SA. [5] पेच्छं नहु Bom.; पेच्छंदाहु SA. [6] परिमालअसम SA.
[7] सवुवि Bom.; SA. [8] तरुणि तिं Bom.

गृह्णाति चन्दनं त्यजति परं केवलं मार्गमेव (add पश्यति) ॥ ७२ ॥ दीसइ उववणीत्यत्र । दृश्यते उपवनं वनप्रदेशं लक्षीकृत्य पुष्पितो नागकेशरः । इवोत्प्रेक्षते । माधवेन वसन्तेन वनश्रियो दत्तः शेखरः ॥ ७३ ॥ तणु नवचंपयेत्यत्र । तनुः शरीरं नवचम्पकमाला येन कारणेन करकम(माः) कमलानि हे सखि तेन कारणेन माधवलक्ष्मीर्वसन्तश्रीः वर्तसे कीदृशी परिमलबहुला ॥ ७४ ॥ मुहि करिवीत्यत्र । मुखे कृत्वा मृगलाञ्छन-गुटिकां मन्मथेन बुद्ध्या जगज्जितं केनेव गुटिकासिद्धेन विद्याधरेणेव ॥ ७५ ॥ पेच्छंतहु इत्यत्र । प्रेक्ष-माणानां नवमालतीं ललितां परिमलेनानन्यतुल्यां भ्रमराणां कथं मनो रञ्जयन्ति केवलं कुब्जकुसुमानि ॥ ७६ ॥ मलयानिलेत्यत्र । मलयानिलो मलयजरसः शशधरः कुसुमास्तरणं विरहानलज्वालितायास्तस्याः सर्वमप्येतत्तनु-संतापनं भवति ॥ ७७ ॥ निसुणिअ माइंद इत्यत्र । श्रुत्वा माकन्दे मधुकरीसंलापं पश्य प्रोषितरमणीभिः

समे नव ओजे एकादश सुखावासः । यथा—

जइ वम्मह गोरडी । भलइं निहालसि ॥
तुह सुहआवासणी । ता[1] किं जालसि ॥ ७९ ॥

समे नव ओजे द्वादश कुङ्कुमलेखा । यथा—

फेडवि कुंकुमलेह । रिउवहु[2]वयणह ॥
पंकलेह निम्मविअ । पइं महिसयणहं ॥ ८० ॥

समे नव ओजे त्रयोदश कुवलयदाम । यथा—

जहिं घल्लइ उप्फुलिअ । धण चलनयणइं ॥
तहिं नवकुवलयदामइं । तक्खणि निवडइं ॥ ८१ ॥

समे नव ओजे चतुर्दश कलहंसः । यथा—

कामिणिहिअयसरोवरहं । तुंहुजि कलहंसु ॥
प्रिय रूविण मयणहु । किअउ तइं जि परहंसु[3] ॥ ८२ ॥

समे नव ओजे पञ्चदश सन्ध्यावली । यथा—

सिंदूरिअ[4]गुरुकुंभत्थल । गयघड तुहु बलि ॥
अगालि[5] नराहिव उत्थरिअ । किर[6] संझावलि[7] ॥ ८३ ॥

समे नव ओजे षोडश कुञ्जरललिता । यथा—

तोडिअगुड[8]मुहवडसंनाह । छड्डिअ[9]खग्गया[10] ।
निंदहिं पहु कुंजरललिअगइ । तुह अरि भग्गया ॥ ८४ ॥

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[1] ना Bom. [2] वहू NA. [3] परिभ्रंशः ? [4] सिंदुरिअ Bom.
[5] अग्गलि Bom.; NA.; SA. But it must be अगालि ; cf. Com.
[6] किरि NA. [7] संधावलि Bom.; संझावलि NA. [8] गुढ Bom.
[9] छड्डिअ Bom. [10] खगया Bom.; खग्गथ NA.; खग्गह SA.

प्रलापः रोदनं प्रस्तुतः प्रारब्धः ॥ ७८ ॥ जइ वम्महेत्यत्र । यदि हे मन्मथ गौरीं भव्यां निभालयसि तदा तव सुखावासनीं किं ज्वालयसि ॥ ७९ ॥ फेडवि कुंकुमलेहेत्यत्र । स्फेटयित्वा कुङ्कुमलेखां पत्रवल्लीं रिपुवधूवदनानां पङ्कलेखा निर्मिता त्वया तासां कीदृशां महीशयनानाम् ॥ ८० ॥ जहिं घल्लईत्यत्र । यत्र क्षिपति उत्फुल्ले प्रिया चलनयने तत्र नवकुवलयदामानि तत्क्षणं पतन्ति श्यामकान्तिपातात् सर्वत्र श्यामीभवनादित्यर्थः ॥ ८१ ॥ कामिणिहिमित्यत्र । कामिन्या हृदयसरोवरस्य त्वमेव राजहंसः हे प्रिय त्वयैव मदनस्य पराभवः कृतः ॥ ८२ ॥ सिंदूरिअ इत्यत्र । हे नराधिप तव बले गजघटाः सन्ति । कीदृशाः(श्यः) सिन्दूरितगुरुकुम्भस्थलाः किलेति संभावनायां अकाले सन्ध्यावल्लिरुल्लसिता ॥ ८३ ॥ तोडिअगुडेत्यत्र । गुडा गजप्रक्षरा मुखपटा हस्तिहयादीनां मुखावरणानि निन्दन्ति हे प्रभो कुञ्जरललितगतिं

समे नव ओजे सप्तदश कुसुमावली । यथा—

निच्छइं पिअसहि वम्महरायहु । आणु जु[1] भंजइ ।
कुसुमावलिठिअ[2]छप्पय[3]सद्दिहिं । तं महु तज्जइ ॥ ८५ ॥

एवमष्ट । तथा । समे दश ओजे एकादश विद्युल्लता । यथा—

विज्जुल[4] मेहमज्झि । अंधारइ गोरी ॥
कवण स हत्थभल्लि । कुसुमाउह तोरी ॥ ८६ ॥

समे दश ओजे द्वादश पञ्चाननललिता । यथा—

संतट्ठहं मयगलहं । चिक्कारिहिं[5] कलिअ[6] ॥
रण्णाइंवि वज्जरहिं । पंचाणणललिअ[7] ॥ ८७ ॥

समे दश ओजे त्रयोदश मरकतमाला । यथा—

फुल्लंधुअधोरणीउ । लयावणगोच्छिहिं ॥
नवमरगयमालियाउ । नाइ महुलच्छिहिं[8] ॥ ८८ ॥

समे दश ओजे चतुर्दश अभिनववसन्तश्रीः । यथा—

कर असोअदल मुहु कमलु । हसिउ नवमल्लिअ ॥
अहिणव वसंतसिरि एह । मोहणछइल्लिअ[9] ॥ ८९ ॥

समे दश ओजे पञ्चदश मनोहरा । यथा—

तुह गुण अणुदिणु सुमरंतिहिं[10] । विरहकरालिअहि ॥
मयणमणोहर तणुअंगिहिं । दय करि बालिअहिं[11] ॥ ९० ॥

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[1] जुं Bom. [2] ठ्ठिअ Bom.; SA. [3] लप्पय Bom.
[4] विज्जुलय Bom.; SA.; विजुला NA. [5] विक्कारिहिं Bom.; SA.
[6] कलिआ SA. [7] ललिआ SA. [8] महुलच्छिहिं Bom.
[9] ठइल्लिअ Bom.; NA.; SA. [10] समरंतिहिं Bom.; NA.
[11] बालिअहि Bom.; बालिअहिं NA.

भग्ना अरयो मुक्तखड्गा नश्यन्त इति शेषः ॥ ८४ ॥ निच्छइं पिअसहि इत्यत्र । निश्चयेन हे प्रियसखि मदनराज्ञः आज्ञां यो भनक्ति षट्पदस्वनैस्तं मधुर्वसन्तः तर्जयति ॥ ८५ ॥ विज्जुल मेहेत्यत्र । अन्धकारे मेघमध्ये गौरी विद्युद्दृश्यते । का सान्या । हे कुसुमायुध त्वदीया हस्तभल्ली । भल्लीव भल्ली विरहिणां दुःखजनकत्वात् ॥ ८६ ॥ संतट्ठहमित्यत्र । संत्रस्तानां मदकलानां चि(ची)त्कारैररण्यान्यपि किल निश्चयेन पञ्चाननललितानि कथयन्ति ॥ ८७ ॥ फुल्लंधयधोरणीत्यत्र । लतावनगुच्छेषु पुष्पंधयधोरणयो भान्ति । उत्प्रेक्षते । मधुलक्ष्म्या मरकतमाला मरकतमरिष्टरत्नमित्यर्थः ॥ ८८ ॥ कर असोअ इत्यत्र । करौ हस्तौ अशोकदलानि मुखं कमलं हसितं नवमल्लिका अभिनववसन्तश्रीरेषा कामिनी मोहने छेका निपुणा ॥ ८९ ॥ तुह गुण अणुदिणु इत्यत्र । हे सुभग हे मदनमनोहर तव गुणाननुदिनं स्मरन्तीषु विरहकरालितासु तन्वङ्गीषु

समे दश ओजे षोडश क्षिप्तिका। यथा—

हिंडइ सा धण जाम्व गहिल्ली[1]। विरहिण आखित्ती ॥
देक्खिवि वल्लहु ता आणंदी। जणु अमइण[2] सित्ती[3] ॥ ९१ ॥

समे दश ओजे सप्तदश किन्नरलीला। यथा—

ओ भडकबंधु नच्चंतु समरि। असिपहारतुट्टिण[4]।
किन्नरलील कलइ तुरयसिरिण। तक्खणचहुट्टिण[5] ॥ ९२ ॥

एवं सप्त। तथा समे एकादश ओजे द्वादश मकरध्वजहासः। यथा—

सो जलिअओ[6] मयणग्गी[7]। जु कुसुमिअउ पलासु ॥
जा पप्फुल्लिअ मल्ली। सु मयरद्धयहासु ॥ ९३ ॥

समे एकादश ओजे त्रयोदश कुसुमाकुलमधुकरः। यथा—

पत्तउ एहु वसंतउ। कुसुमाउलमहुअरु ॥
माणिणि माणुमलं[8] तउ। कुसुमाउहसहयरु ॥ ९४ ॥

समे एकादश ओजे चतुर्दश भ्रमरविलासः। यथा—

अलि मालइपरिमललुद्धु[9]। न अन्निहिं रइ करइ।
सा भमरविलासविअड्ढ[10]। न अन्नहिं मणु धरइ ॥ ९५ ॥

समे एकादश ओजे पञ्चदश मदनविलासः। यथा—

मयणविलासगिरिव्व सहइ[11]। मुद्धहिं[12] थणमंडलु[13] ॥
तहिं रेहइ तरलहारलय[14]। निज्झरु किर निम्मलु ॥ ९६ ॥

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[1] गहिल्लि Bom. [2] अमयण NA. [3] सिन्ती Bom. [4] तुट्टिण Bom.; SA. [5] बहुट्टिण Bom. [6] जलिअउ Com. [7] मयणग्गि NA.; SA. [8] माणु अलं ? see Com. [9] लुद्धउ NA. [10] विअद्धढ ? see Com. [11] सहेइ SA.; महेइ Bom. [12] मुद्धाहं Bom. [13] घणमंडलु Bom. [14] हारलइ SA.

दयां कुरु ॥ ९० ॥ हिंडइ सा धणेत्यत्र। सा प्रिया यावद्विरहेण आक्षिप्ता सती ग्रहिला परिभ्रमति तावत् वल्लभं दृष्ट्वा आनन्दितामृतेन सिक्ता भवति ॥ ९१ ॥ ओ भडकबंधु इत्यत्र। पश्य भटकबन्धः समरे नृत्यन् असिप्रहारत्रुटितेन तप्तलोहितत्वात् तत्क्षणे विलग्नेनाश्वशिरसा किंनरलीलां कलयति तुरङ्गवदनत्वात् ॥ ९२ ॥ सो जलिअउ इत्यत्र। यत्पलाशः पुष्पितो तन्मदनाग्निः प्रज्वलितः यच्च मल्लिका प्रोत्फुल्ला तन्मकरध्वजहास्यम् ॥ ९३ ॥ पत्तउ एहु इत्यत्र। एष वसन्तः प्राप्तः कीदृशः कुसुमेषु आकुलाः मधुकराः यत्र पुनः कीदृशः कुसुमायुधसहचरः ततः हे मानिनि मानेनालं कृतं तवेत्यध्याहारः ॥ ९४ ॥ अलि मालइ इत्यत्र। अलिर्भ्रमरः मालतीपरिमललुब्धो नान्यत्र रतिं करोति। सापि मालती भ्रमरविलासविदग्धा नान्यत्र मनो दधाति तस्मिन्नेव चित्तं धरतीत्यर्थः ॥ ९५ ॥ मयणविलासेत्यत्र।

समे एकादश ओजे षोडश विद्याधरहासः । यथा—

नासंतिहिं समरागमसमइ । परिचत्तगइंदिहिं ॥
दिवि विज्जाहर हासिअ सयल । तुहु वेरिनरिंदिहिं ॥ ९७ ॥

समे एकादश ओजे सप्तदश कुसुमायुधशेखरः । यथा—

घोलिरनवपल्लवु परिफुल्लिओ[1] । रेहइ असोअतरु ॥
विरइओ[2] रम्मु नाइ महुमासिण । कुसुमाउहसेहरु ॥ ९८ ॥

एवं षट् । तथा समे द्वादश ओजे त्रयोदश उपदोहकः । यथा—

महु कंतिण रणि मुक्कओ[3] । एक्कु पहारु अमोहु[4] ॥
उय दो हय हय चूरिओ । संदणु सारहि जोहु ॥ ९९ ॥

समे द्वादश ओजे चतुर्दश दोहकः । यथा—

पिअहु[5] पहारिण इक्किणवि । सहि दो हया पडंति ॥
संनद्धओ असवारभडु[6] । अन्नु तुरंगु न भंति ॥ १०० ॥

प्रायोग्रहणात्संस्कृतेऽपि । यथा—

मम तावन्मतमेतदिह । किमपि यदस्ति तदस्तु ॥
रमणीभ्यो रमणीयतरम् । अन्यत्किमपि न वस्तु ॥ १०१ ॥

अत्र समपादान्ते गुरुद्वयमित्याम्नायः । समे द्वादश ओजे पञ्चदश चन्द्रलेखिका । यथा—

तुह विरहिं[7] सा अइदुब्बली । घण[8] आवंडुरदेह ।
अहिमयरकिरणिहिं विक्खिविअ । चंदलेह जिम्व एह ॥ १०२ ॥

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[1] परिफुल्लिउ NA. [2] विरइउ NA. [3] मक्कओ Bom.; SA.
[4] अमाहु Bom. [5] पियहु Com. [6] भटु NA.
[7] विरहि Com. [8] घण Bom.

मदनविलासगिरिवत् शोभते मुग्धायाः स्तनमण्डलं तत्र राजते तरलहारलता निर्झरः किल निर्मलः ॥ ९६ ॥ नासंतिहिमित्यत्र । नश्यद्भिः समरागमसमये परित्यक्तगजेन्द्रैर्दिवि विद्याधरा हासिताः सकलास्तव वैरिनरेन्द्रैः ॥ ९७ ॥ घोलिरनवपल्लवेत्यत्र । अशोकतरुः राजते । कीदृशः । घोलन्नवपल्लवः परि सामस्त्येन पुष्पितः । इवोत्प्रेक्षते । मधुमासेन कुसुमायुधशेखरो विरचितो रम्यः ॥ ९८ ॥ महु कंतिणेत्यत्र । हे सखि पश्य मम कान्तेन रमणेन रणे संग्रामे एकः अमोघः प्रहारो मुक्तो येन प्रहारेण द्वौ हतौ हयौ चूरितः स्यन्दनः सारथिर्योधश्च ॥ ९९ ॥ पियहु पहारिणेत्यत्र । हे सखि प्रियस्य प्रहारेण एकेनापि द्वौ हतौ पततः सन्नद्धः अश्ववारभटः अन्यस्तुरङ्गो नात्र भ्रान्तिः ॥ १०० ॥ ममेत्यत्र । मम तावदेतन्मतं अस्ति अन्यदस्तु न वा । किम् । रमणीभ्यो रमणीयकं किमपि वस्तु नास्तीति फलितार्थः ॥ १०१ ॥ तुह विरहि इत्यत्र । तव विरहे सा प्रिया आपाण्डुरदेहातिदुर्बला । अहिमकरः सूर्यः

समे द्वादश ओजे षोडश सुतालिङ्गनम्। यथा--

तुह चंडिण भुअदंडिण निवइ। धरमाणिण महिवलओ ॥
जलहिसुआलिंगणपहवसुहु। देउ जणद्दणु कलओ[1] ॥ १०३ ॥

समे द्वादश ओजे सप्तदश कङ्केल्लिलताभवनम्। यथा—

कंकेल्लिलयाभवणब्भंतरि। अलिरिंखोलि[2] सहंति ॥
नावइ[3] महुलच्छीविणिवेसिअ। कज्जलहत्थय[4]पंति ॥ १०४ ॥

एवं पञ्च। तथा समे त्रयोदश ओजे चतुर्दश कुसुमितकेतकीहस्तः। यथा--

जगु नीसेसुवि निज्जिणिउ। निरु गव्विरु विसमत्थउ ॥
उब्भइ[5] सरलदलंगुलिउ। कुसुमिअकेअइहत्थउ ॥ १०५ ॥

समे त्रयोदश ओजे पञ्चदश कुञ्जरविलसितम्। यथा—

सल्लइपल्लवकवलप्पणु। रेवानइजलि मज्जणु ॥
तं कुंजरविलसिउ सुमरइ। गयविरहिओ करेणुगणु ॥ १०६ ॥

समे त्रयोदश ओजे षोडश राजहंसः। यथा—

जइ गंगाजलि धवलि कालइ। जउणाजलि जइ खित्तउ[6] ॥
रायहंसि नहु वुड्ढु[7] न तुट्टु। सुज्झत्तणु तुवि तेत्तउ ॥ १०७ ॥

समे त्रयोदश ओजे सप्तदश अशोकपल्लवच्छाया। यथा—

वयणु[8] सरोजु नयण[9] कुवलयदल। हासु नवफुल्लिअमल्लि ॥
करपाय असोअपल्लवच्छाय। सइजि कुसुमाउहभल्लि ॥ १०८ ॥

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[1] कलउ Bom.; SA. [2] रिंनोलि Bom. [3] लावइ Bom.; णावइ NA.
[4] कज्जलतत्थय Bom. [5] उज्झइ Bom. [6] खित्तओ Bom.; SA.
[7] वुट्टु Bom. [8] वयण NA. [9] नयणु SA.

तस्य किरणैर्विक्षिप्ता एषा चन्द्रलेखा पाण्डुरदेहा भवति। किंच एतद्वृत्तं पूर्वमागतमस्तीति ॥ १०२ ॥ तुह चंडिणेत्यत्र। तव चण्डेन भुजदण्डेन हे नृपते धरमाणेन महीवलयं जलधेः सुता लक्ष्मीस्तस्याः आलिङ्गनप्रभवं सुखं देवो जनार्दनः कलयतु भजत्विति यावत् ॥ १०३ ॥ कंकेल्लिलयेत्यत्र। कंकेल्लि-लताभवनाभ्यन्तरे भ्रमरश्रेणयो राजन्ते। इवोत्प्रेक्षते। मधुलक्ष्म्या विनिवेशिताः कज्जलहस्त-पङ्क्तयः ॥ १०४ ॥ जगु नीसेसुवीत्यत्र। जगन्निःशेषमपि निर्जित्य निश्चितं सगर्वो विषमास्त्रः कामः उत्तभ्नाति सरलदलाङ्गुलीः (लिं) कुसुमितकेतकीहस्तम् ॥ १०५ ॥ सल्लइपल्लवेत्यत्र। करेणुगणः हस्तिनी-समूहः गजेन विरहितः सन् सल्लकीपल्लवकवलार्पणं रेवानदीजले मज्जनं च स्मरति ॥ १०६ ॥ जइ गंगेत्यत्र। यदि च धवले गङ्गाजले यदि च कृष्णे यमुनाजले राजहंसः प्रक्षिप्तः तथापि तस्य शुभ्रत्वं न वर्धितं न च त्रुटितम् ॥ १०७ ॥ वयणु सरोजु इत्यत्र। वदनं सरोजं नयनं कुवलयदलं हास्यं पुष्पित-

एवं चत्वारः। समे चतुर्दश ओजे पञ्चदश अनङ्गललिता। यथा—

पलिअ केस चल दसणावलि। जर जज्जरइ सरीरबलु॥
सव्विवि गलिहिं[1] अणंगललिअ। किज्जउ धम्मु महंतफलु॥ १०९॥

समे चतुर्दश ओजे षोडश मन्मथविलसितम्। यथा—

मयवस[2]तरुणिविलोअणतरलु। कलेवरु संपइ जीविउ॥
मेल्हहु रमणीअणि सहु संगु। चयहु हयवम्महविलसिउ॥ ११०॥

समे चतुर्दश ओजे सप्तदश ओहुल्लणकम्। यथा—

महुरसु घुंटिउ जेहिं जहिच्छइ। ते अलि दीसंत भमंत॥
मालइओहुल्लणउं करंतिण। किं साहिओ पइं हेमंत॥ १११॥

वारङ्गडीत्यन्ये। एवं त्रयः। समे पञ्चदश ओजे षोडश कज्जललेखा। यथा—

कज्जललेहाविललोअणहं। गलिअंसुजलिण पम्हुट्ठओ॥
अहरालत्तयरसु सामरिसु। तुह रिउवहुनयणि पइट्ठओ॥ ११२॥

समे पञ्चदश ओज सप्तदश किलिकिञ्चितम्। यथा—

तरुणीकिलिकिंचिअइं विसट्टहिं। ससिजोण्हसमुज्जल रत्तडी॥
मल्लिअफुल्लइं परिमलसारइं। जउ तउ गय सग्गहु[3] वत्तडी॥ ११३॥

एवं द्वे। समे षोडश ओजे सप्तदश शशिबिम्बितम्। यथा—

तुह[4] मुहु लायन्नतरंगिणीए। झलकन्तउ कंतिकरंबिअउ॥
सोहइ निम्मलवट्टुलमंडलु। जलमज्झि नाइ ससि बिंबिअओ॥ ११४॥

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[1] गलहिं ? see Com. [2] मइवस NA. [3] मग्गहु Bom. [4] तुह Com.

नवमल्लिका करपादौ अशोकपल्लवच्छायौ। इवोत्प्रेक्षते। स्वयमेव कुसुमायुधस्य भल्लिका। भल्ली शस्त्रविशेषः॥ १०८॥ पलिअ केस इत्यत्र। केशाः पलिताः चला दशनावलिः जरया जर्जरितं शरीरबलं सर्वाण्यपि गलन्ति अनंगललिआइं इति ललितानि अतएव महाफलं धर्मं कुरुत भव्याः॥ १०९॥ मयवसेत्यत्र। मदवशतरुणीविलोचनवत् तरलं कलेवरं संपत् जीवितं च। मुच्यतां रमणीजनेन सङ्गः। त्यजतु (त्यजत ?) हतमन्मथस्य विलसितम्॥ ११०॥ महुरसु इत्यत्र। हे हेमन्त त्वया ओहुल्लणउं इति निदीप्तित्वं पुष्पादिहीनत्वमिति यावत् कुर्वता किं साधितं यस्माद्यैर्भ्रमरैर्यदृच्छया मधुरसः घुटितः आस्वादितः ते भ्रमराः सांप्रतं पुष्पाभावात् भ्रमन्तः दृश्यन्ते मघोरनुपलम्भात्॥ १११॥ वारङ्गडीति पिङ्गलमते। कज्जललेहेत्यत्र। कज्जलरेखाविलत्वं विलोचनानां गलिताश्रुजलेन प्रमृष्टं निरस्तं अधरालक्तकरसः सामर्षः सन् तव रिपुवधूनयने प्रविष्टः रिपुवधूनयनान्यारक्तानि जातानि इति भावः॥ ११२॥ तरुणीकिलीत्यत्र। स्मितहसितभयरोषगर्वदुःखश्रमाभिलाषसंकरः किलिकिंचितम्। तरुणीकिलिकिंचितानि विसर्पन्ति शशिज्योत्स्नासमुज्ज्वला रात्रिः मल्लिकापुष्पाणि परिमलसाराणि यदि तदा स्वर्गस्य गता वार्ता स्वर्गाभिधानं न कोपि गृह्णाति इति भावः॥ ११३॥ तुह मुहेत्यत्र। तव लावण्यतरङ्गिण्यां दीप्यमान(नं)

अत्रैकः। एवं तावद्वा पञ्चपञ्चाशद्भेदा चतुष्पदी। उभये दशोत्तरं शतमन्तरसमाश्चतुष्पद्यो वस्तुकानि वा। अन्तरसमा एव द्वितीयतृतीयांह्रिव्यत्ययेऽर्धसमाः, द्वितीयतृतीयपादयोर्विपर्यये सत्यन्तरसमा एव दशोत्तरशतसंख्या अर्धसमासंज्ञाः। एवग्रहणं सर्वसाम्यार्थम्। तेनासामपि तान्येव चम्पककुसुमादीनि नामानि भवन्ति। तत्रौजे सप्त समेऽष्टेत्यन्तरसमाचम्पककुसुमम्। तदेव द्वितीयतृतीयांह्रिविपर्ययेऽर्धसमा-चम्पककुसुमम्। यथा—

गोरी गोट्ठि-। दरफुरिओट्ठि॥
कलहंसीगइ-। कलहे लग्गइ॥ ११५॥

मुखपङ्क्तिरर्धसमा यथा—

कृव कण्णकलिंग परज्जिआ। ठिअ नरवइ माण[1]विवज्जिआ॥
न हु कोइ अभिट्टइ अणिअवहि। कहिं वइरि जयद्दु[2] कण्ह कहि॥ ११६॥

इत्यादि।

द्वित्रिचतुर्भिर्लक्षणैर्मिश्रा सङ्कीर्णा॥ २१॥

द्वाभ्यां ध्रुवाया अंह्रिलक्षणाभ्यां त्रिभिः चतुर्भिर्वा एकत्र मिश्रा संकीर्णा नाम चतुष्पदी। तत्र द्वाभ्यां सङ्कीर्णा। यथा—

चूडल्लउ वाहोहजलु। नयणा कंचुवि[3] समथण[4]॥
इय मुंजि रइया दूहडा। पंचवि कामहु पंचसर॥ ११७॥

त्रिभिर्यथा—

वायाला फरुसा विंधणा। गुणिहिं विमुक्का प्राणहर॥
जह दुज्जण सज्जणजणपउरि। तेम्व पसरु न लहंति सर॥ ११८॥

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[1] साण Bom. [2] जयट्टु Bom.
[3] कल्लवि SA. [4] समघण Bom.

कान्तिकरम्बितं शोभते मुखम्। इवोत्प्रेक्षते। निर्मलमण्डलो जलमध्ये शशी बिम्बितः॥ ११४॥ गोरी गोट्ठि इत्यत्र। गौरी कर्त्री गोष्ठ्यां दरस्फुरितो ईषत्स्फुरितो ओष्ठो यस्याः सा गोष्ठीदरस्फुरितोष्ठी कलहंस्या सह यो गतिकलहस्तत्र लगति। गतौ कलहंस्या सह स्पर्धां विधत्ते इत्यर्थः॥ ११५॥ मुख-पङ्क्तिरर्धसमेत्यत्र। ओजे पञ्चदश समे षोडश एवंलक्षणं मुखपङ्क्तिनाम छन्दस्त्रिपञ्चाशत्तमम्॥ कृव कण्णेत्यत्र। कृपो द्रोणाचार्यः कर्णश्चम्पाधिपतिश्चैते पराजिताः स्थिताः। न च कोपि युध्यतेऽनीकपथे सैन्यमार्गे। कुत्र वैरी जग(य)द्रथनामा इति कथय कृष्ण इति पाण्डवाः पृच्छन्ति॥ ११६॥ चूडल्लउ इत्यत्र। चूडकेति प्रसिद्धः बाष्पौघजलं नयनानि कञ्चुकः समस्तनौ एतेषां पञ्चानां अपि दूहका मुञ्जेन राज्ञा रचिताः सन्ति ते पञ्चापि कामशराः॥ ११७॥ वायाला फरुसेत्यत्र। यथा दुर्जनाः सज्जनप्रचुरे स्थाने प्रसरं लभन्ते न तथा शराः। दुर्जनाश्च किंभूताः वाचालाः परुषाः कठोरा मर्माविधः वेधिनः गुणैरौदार्यादिभिर्विमुक्ताः पक्षे शराः कीदृशाः वातवन्तः परुषा वेधकाः गुणैः प्रत्यञ्चादिभिर्विमुक्ताः॥ ११८॥

यथा वा—

चूडुल्लओ चुण्णी होइसइ। मुद्धि कओलिनिहित्तउ(ओ)॥
निद्दद्धउ सासानि(नि ?)लिण। बाहसलिलसंसित्तओ ॥ ११९ ॥

चतुर्भिर्यथा—

तं तेत्तिउ बाहोहजलु। सिहिणंतरिवि[1] न पत्तु॥
छिमिछिमिवि[2] गंडत्थलहिं। सिमिसिमिवि सिमिवि समत्तु॥ १२० ॥

समैः पादैः सर्वसमा ॥ २२ ॥

तुल्यकलैश्चतुर्भिः पादैः सर्वसमा चतुष्पदी तद्विशेषानाह।

पचौ ध्रुवकम् ॥ २३ ॥

पञ्चमात्रचतुर्मात्रौ गणौ यस्य पादे तद्ध्रुवकम्। यथा—

जइवि संखु न करि। तुं[3] ध्रुवु मुणिउ हरि॥
जं विरहभीअइ। अणुसरिउ सिरिअइ॥ १२१ ॥

चौ दः शशाङ्कवदना ॥ २४ ॥

द्वौ चतुर्मात्रौ द्विमात्रश्चैकः शशाङ्कवदना। यथा—

नवकुवलयनयण। ससंकवयण धण॥
कोमलकमलकर। उअ सरयसिरि किर॥ १२२ ॥

चपदाश्चातौ वा मारकृतिः ॥ २५ ॥

चतुर्मात्रपञ्चमात्रद्विमात्राः चतुर्मात्रद्वयत्रिमात्रौ वा मारकृतिः। यथा—

तुह मार मारकिदी। कवि एह नवल्लिअ॥
दूरि स बाल[4]भल्लि[5]। जं हिअडइ[6] सल्लिअ॥ १२३ ॥

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[1] सिहिणं नरिवि Bom. [2] छिमिवि छिमिवि SA. [3] तु Bom.; SA.
[4] सवाभल्लि Bom.; सवलि SA. [5] भल्लिं SA. [6] हिअडुइ NA.

चूडुल्लओ इत्यत्र। चूडकश्चूर्णः भविष्यति मुग्धे कपोले निहितः सन् निर्दग्धः श्वासानलेन तदनु बाष्पसलिलेन सिक्तः॥ ११९ ॥ तं तेत्तिउ बाहोहेत्यत्र। तत्तावद्बाष्पौघजलं स्तनान्तरे न प्राप्तं तप्तलोहाद्युपरि यदि जलविन्दुः पतति तदा प्रथमं छमिछमिशब्दं करोति पश्चात्समिसमीति कृत्वा शुष्यति। कपोलावपि विरहानलेन तप्तौ स्तोऽस्तत्र समाप्तम्। इत्येतौ द्वावपि दोहकौ चूडल्लउ बाहोहजलसिक्तौ मुञ्जरचितौ॥ १२० ॥ जइ व(वि) संखु नेत्यत्र। हे राजन् यद्यपि शङ्खो न धृतः करे तथापि त्वं ध्रुवं निश्चितं ज्ञातो हरिर्विष्णुः। यद्विरहे भीतया श्रिया अनुमृतः आश्रितः॥ १२१ ॥ नवकुवलयेत्यत्र। नवकुवलयनयना शशाङ्कवदना प्रिया कोमलकमलकरा पश्य शरत्श्रीः शरल्लक्ष्मीः किलेति संभावनायाम्॥ १२२ ॥ तुह मारेत्यत्र। हे मार काम तव एषा नूतना कापि मारकृतिः अपूर्वः कोप्ययं मारः इत्यर्थः। सा

षचदाः चिर्वा महानुभावा ॥ २६ ॥

षण्मात्रचतुर्मात्रद्विमात्रा वा चगणत्रयं वा यत्र सा महानुभावा। यथा—

जे निअहिं न परदोस। गुणिहिं जि पयडिअतोस॥
ते जगि महाणुभावा। विरला सरलसहावा॥ १२४॥

षचताश्चापौ पातौ वाप्सरोविलसितम् ॥ २७ ॥

षण्मात्रचतुर्मात्रत्रिमात्रा वा चतुर्मात्रद्वयपञ्चमात्रौ वा पञ्चमात्रद्वयं त्रिमात्रौ वा यत्र तदप्सरोविलसितम्। यथा—

पइं ससिवयणिए विब्भमि। हसिअ[1] अच्छरविलसिअइं॥
भुमइहि[2] किउ पाइक्कउ। मयणु मोहिअजणमणइं॥ १२५॥

षचाश्चिदौ वा गन्धोदकधारा ॥ २८ ॥

षण्मात्रश्चतुर्मात्रद्वयं यदि वा चतुर्मात्रत्रयं द्विमात्रश्च सा गन्धोदकधारा। यथा—

रमणिकवोलकुरंगमय-। पत्तलयाविलअंसुभवि॥
घणगन्धोदयधारभरि। वइरिअ तुह ण्हायंति सवि॥ १२६॥

चितौ षचपा वा पारणकम् ॥ २९ ॥

चतुर्मात्रत्रयं त्रिमात्रश्च यदि वा षण्मात्रचतुर्मात्रपञ्चमात्राः पारणकम्। यथा—

कइअहिं होएसइ तं दिवसु। आणंदसुहारसपावणउ॥
होही प्रियमुहससिचंदिमइं। जहिं नयणचउरह पारणउ[3]॥ १२७॥

चीः पद्धडिका ॥ ३० ॥

चगणचतुष्कं पद्धडिका। यथा—

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[1] असिअ Bom. [2] भुमयहिं SA. [3] पारणओ Bom.; SA.

त्राला एव भल्लिदूरे यद्यस्मात् कारणात् हृदये शल्यिता। अन्या भल्ली दूरस्या सती न शल्यकारिणीत्यपूर्वम्॥ १२३॥ जे निअहिं नेत्यत्र। ये सत्पुरुषाः परदोषान् न पश्यन्ति किंतु गुणैरेव प्रकटिततोषाः त एव जगति महानुभावाः विरलाः स्तोकाः कीदृशाः सरलस्वभावाः॥ १२४॥ पइं ससिवयणिए इत्यत्र। त्वया शशिवदनिके विभ्रमेण विलासेन हसितानि अप्सरोविलसितानि भ्रुवा कृतोल्पपदातिर्मदनः कामः किंविशिष्टया भ्रुवा मोहितजनमनसा॥ १२५॥ रमणिकवोलेत्यत्र। रमणीकपोलेषु या कुरङ्गमदपत्रलताः कस्तूरीपत्रवल्लयस्ताभिराविलानि श्यामीकृतानि यान्यश्रूणि तेभ्यो भवः उत्पन्नस्तस्मिन् गन्धोदकधाराभरे वैरिणस्तव स्नान्ति स्नानं कुर्वन्ति सर्वे॥ १२६॥ कइत्ति। कदा भविष्यति स दिवसः आनन्दसुधारसप्रापणः आनन्दसुधारसपावनः पवित्रो भविष्यति प्रियमुखशशिचन्द्रिकायां यत्र जननयनचकोरयोः

परगुणगहणु सदोसपयासणु । महुमहुरक्खरहिअमिअभासणु ॥
उवयारिण पडिकिओ[1] वेरिअणहं । इअ पद्धडी मणोहर सुअणहं ॥ १२८ ॥

अजादिश्चीर्जो लीर्वान्ते प्राक् पद्धताविह त्वविशेष इति विशेषः ।

चिपौ षचाता वा रगडाध्रुवकम् ॥ ३१ ॥

चगणत्रयं पगणश्च यदि वा षण्मात्रश्चतुर्मात्रद्वयं त्रिमात्रश्च यस्य पादे तद्रगडाध्रुवकम् । यथा—

अइचंगंगइं मोरइं वल्लहिं । जइ तुम्ह रूवमडप्फर भग्गय ॥
कांइं त एम्वहिं तहु विरहक्खणि । मह्नु वम्मह रगडु ध्रुवु लग्गय ॥ १२९ ॥

इत्याचार्यश्रीहेमचन्द्रविरचितायां स्वोपज्ञच्छन्दोऽनुशासनवृत्तौ षट्पदी-चतुष्पदीशासनः षष्ठोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

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[1] पडिकिउ NA.

पारणकम् ॥ १२७ ॥ परगुणेत्यत्र । परेषां गुणानां ग्रहणं स्वकीयदोषप्रकाशनं च मधुवन्मधुराक्षरा (add णि) यत्र एवंविधं हितं मितं भाषणं च उपकारेण प्रतीकारो वैरिजनानाम् । वैरिणामप्युपकारकरणमित्यर्थः । एषा पद्धतिर्मार्गो मनोहरा सुजनानाम् । अन्योपि हि वैरिणां द्रोहेण प्रतीकारं करोति सुजनास्तूपकारेणेत्यर्थः । ॥ १२८ ॥ अइचंगेत्यत्र । अतिचङ्गाङ्गेन मदीयेन वल्लभेन यदि तव रूपाहंकारो भग्नः किं तत् एवमेव तस्य विरहक्षणे मम हे मन्मथ रगडा ध्रुवं लग्ना रगडं विगोपनम् । यदि मम वल्लभेन काम त्वं पराभूतस्तर्हि मां किं विगोपयसीत्यर्थः ॥ १२९ ॥

इति छन्दोनुशासने षष्ठाध्यायविषमपदविवरणम् ॥

अथ सप्तमोऽध्यायः ।

द्विपदी ॥ १ ॥

इतः परं द्विपद्योऽधिक्रियन्ते ।

दाचदालदाचदालि कर्पूरो णैः ॥ २ ॥

द्वौ द्विमात्रौ चतुर्मात्रो द्वौ द्विमात्रौ लघुर्द्वौ द्विमात्रौ चतुर्मात्रो द्वौ द्विमात्रौ लघुत्रयं च कर्पूरः । णैरिति पञ्चदशभिर्मात्राभिर्यतिः । च इति सिद्धे दगणद्वयनिर्देशो जगणनिरासार्थः । यथा—

कप्पूलधवल गुण अज्जिणिअ, आजम्मुवि निवचक्कवइ पइं ।
कित्ति काइं उल्लालिकरि, घल्लिअ[1] चउसायर परइ ॥ १ ॥

सोऽन्त्यलोनः कुङ्कुमः ॥ ३ ॥

स एव कर्पूरः अन्त्यलघुना ऊनः कुङ्कुमः । यथा—

घणसारु मेल्लि कुंकुमु चयहि, परइ करहि मयनाहिवि ॥
विणु पिअयमिं[2] इहु सउं[3] निप्फलउं[3], मणु रइ करइ न कत्थवि ॥ २ ॥

एतावुल्लालकौ मागधानाम् । केचिल्लघ्वष्टकादारभ्य लघुद्वयद्वयवृद्ध्या वाहादीन् भेदानाहुः । यथाह—

बाहो बोहा वग्गो वंधू बाणो गओ[4] वरी वेसो ।
वेणू वणो वरिट्ठो विबुहो बलिओ[5] बलो विहओ ॥ १ ॥
वामो बुहो विसालो विंदो विहुरो विहू वसू विरहो ।
विलओ तहा य विसओ[6] उल्लाला पंचविंसत्ति ॥ २ ॥
अट्ठलहुविरइआओ पढमा उल्लालयाउ छंदम्मि ।
लहुएहिं दोहि दोहि अ हुंति इमे वड्ढमाणेहिं ॥ ३ ॥

एते च कोटीसंख्यप्रस्तारान्तर्भूता इति पृथङ्नोक्ताः ।

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[1] वत्तिअ Bom.; घल्लिअ SA. [2] पिअयमिंइ हुअ सओ Bom.; NA. [3] निप्फलओ Bom.
[4] वओ NA. [5] वलिओ NA.; बलिय Bom. [6] विसरओ Bom.

कप्पूरधवलेत्यत्र । कर्पूरधवलान्गुणान् अर्जयित्वा आजन्मापि नृपचक्रपते त्वया कीर्तिः कस्मादुल्लालयित्वा क्षिप्ता चतुःसागरेभ्यः परतः ॥ १ ॥ घणसार्वित्यत्र । घनसारं कर्पूरं मुञ्च कुङ्कुमं त्यज परतः मृगनाभिमपि कुरुते विना प्रियतमेन भर्त्रा इह सर्वं निष्फलं निःसारं मनो रतिं क्वापि न संधत्ते ॥ २ ॥

चृ लयः ॥ ४ ॥

चृ इति लुप्तविभक्तिको निर्देशः। सप्त चगणा लयो नाम द्विपदी। यथा—

किउ उरि[१] लच्छिहिं निलउ, करिण कलिउ[२] चक्कु[३], महिअलु धरिउ।
बलिनाम्वु[४] सहिउ नहु कह वि हु पहु, तुहुं पुरिसोत्तिमचरिउ ॥ ३ ॥

स भ्रमरपदं ञजैः ॥ ५ ॥

स लयः ञजैर्दशभिरष्टभिश्च कलाभिर्यतिश्चेत्तदा भ्रमरपदम्। यथा—

ललिअविलासोचिअ तविण किलेसहि सहि किं तणु अप्पणु।
मालइकुसुमु सहइ भमरपउ[५] न उण खरसउणिझडप्पणु ॥ ४ ॥

षचुदा उपात् ॥ ६ ॥

एकः षण्मात्रः पञ्च चतुर्मात्रा द्विमात्रश्चैको यदि तदा उपात्परं भ्रमरपदमुपभ्रमरपदमित्यर्थः। ञजैरिति वर्त्तते। यथा—

तहि मुद्धहि नेहंधहिं किम्व[६] किविणय[७] तुह खलिउ पयट्टु।
उअ भमरपएणवि भज्जइ मालइनवकुसुमु विसट्टु ॥ ५ ॥

चूपौ गरुडपदम् ॥ ७ ॥

षट् चगणाः पगणश्चैको गरुडपदम्। यथा—

जसु पारु लहंति कयावि नवि सुरगुरुभिउनंदणपमुह।
अरिपन्नगगरुड पयंपिअइ सयलुवि गुणगणु सु किम्व तुह[८] ॥ ६ ॥

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[१] उवरि NA. [२] कलिण Bom. [३] चक्कु Bom.; NA.
[४] बलिनालिनाम्वु NA. [५] भमरपओ Bom.; SA. [६] किम NA.
[७] कवणय NA.; किवण य Bom. [८] तुहु SA.

बाहादीन् भेदानित्यत्र। यस्मिन् अष्टौ लघवो भवन्ति स प्रथमो वाहः॥ दशभिर्वाह इत्यादि द्विकवृद्धया द्रष्टव्यमिति॥ किउ उर्वित्यत्र। कृतः उरसि लक्ष्म्या निलयः करेण कलितं चक्रं देशः महीतलं धृतं बलिनां राज्ञां नाम न सोढं कथमपि। हे पुरुषोत्तमचरितोऽसि। तस्याप्युरसि श्रीर्निलयं करोति सोपि करे चक्रं कलयति महीवलयं धरति बलेर्दानवस्य नाम न सहते॥ ३॥ ललितेत्यत्र। ललितविलासोचितां तपसा क्लेशयसि हे सखि किं तनुमात्मनः मालतीकुसुमं भ्रमरपदं सहते न पुनः खरशकुनिस्पर्शनम् ॥ ४॥ तहीत्यत्र। तस्या मुग्धायाः स्नेहान्धायाः कथं कृपण लक्षणया हे अज्ञान तव स्खलितं प्रवृत्तम्। कुत इत्याह—पश्य भ्रमरपदेनापि भज्यते मालतीकुसुमं विकसितम्॥ ५॥ जसु पारु इत्यत्र। यस्य गुणगणस्य पारं न लभन्ते कदापि सुरगुरुभृगुनन्दनप्रमुखाः हे अरिपन्नगगरुड स तव सकलोपि गुणगणः कथं

षचुता उपात् ॥ ८ ॥

एकः षण्मात्रः पञ्च चतुर्मात्रा एकस्त्रिमात्रो यदि स्यात्तदोपात्परं गरुडपदम् उपगरुडपदमित्यर्थः। यथा—

हणिअदुजीहप्पसरणु पिअपुरिसोत्तमु विणयाणंदणु।
उअ[1] गरुडपयम्मि निबद्धरइ नरवइ हरइ न कासु[2] मणु॥ ७॥

चृदौ हरिणीकुलं ठजैः ॥ ९ ॥

चतुर्मात्रसप्तकं द्विमात्रश्चैकः ठजैरिति द्वादशभिरष्टाभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा हरिणीकुलम्। यथा—

तुहुं उज्जाणि म वच्चसु जइवि हु विलसइ मयणूसवु पवलु।
गइनयणिहिं लज्जीहइ तुहु हंसीउलु सहि तह हरिणिउलु[3]॥ ८॥

तद्गीतिसमं ञजैः ॥ १० ॥

तद्धरिणोकुलम् ञजैरिति दशभिरष्टाभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा गीत्या समत्वाद्गीतिसमम्। यथा—

नच्चिरु किसलकरिहिं फुडपयडियपुलउग्गमु[4] मउलावलिहिं।
उववणु नाइ[5] मुइउ[6] कयगोइ[7] समंचिअ तरलिहिं अलिउलिहिं[8]॥ ९॥

षुर्भ्रमररुतम् ॥ ११ ॥

ञजैरिति वर्तते पञ्च षण्मात्राश्चेद् भ्रमररुतम्। यथा—

वरजाइ सरंतहु भमरु रुअंतहु तुहु चिरु सुहु परिदीसइ।
मायंगि मयंधइ[9] तुब्भु[10] रमंतहु कण्णचवेडजि होसइ॥ १०॥

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[1] उप Com. The two halves seem to be inverted in the Com.
[2] कीसु SA. [3] हरिउलु Bom.; हरिणीउलु SA. [4] पुलउग्गसु Bom.; पुलउग्गस SA.
[5] ताइ Bom. [6] मुइओ Bom.; SA. [7] कयगोई Bom.
[8] तरलिअलिलिहिं Bom. [9] मयंधइं SA. [10] तुज्झु SA.

प्रकाश्यते अपि तु न प्रकाश्यते इत्यर्थः॥ ६॥ उप गरुडेत्यत्र। हृतं द्विजिह्वानां दुर्जनानां प्रसरणं येन पक्षे द्विजिह्वाः सर्पाः। प्रियाः पुरुषोत्तमाः सन्तो यस्य पक्षे पुरुषोत्तमो नारायणः। विनयेन विनतानां प्रणतानां वा आनन्दनः पक्षे विनतायाः आनन्दनः पुत्रश्च। उअ पश्य नरपतिः कस्य मनो न हरति। गरुडपदे गरुडव्यापारे निबद्धरतिः॥ ७॥ चृ इत्यत्र सप्तभस्वराङ्कितत्वात् चगणानां सप्तकं ग्राह्यम्। तुहुं उज्जाणेत्यत्र। त्वमुद्याने मा व्रज यद्यपि विलसति मदनोत्सवः प्रबलः। गतिनयनाभ्यां लज्जिष्यति हंसीकुलं हे सखि तथा हरिणीकुलं च। गत्या हंसीकुलं नयनाभ्यां हरिणीकुलं च लज्जिष्यतीति भावः॥ ८॥ नच्चिरेत्यत्र। उत्प्रेक्षते। उपवनं मुदितमिव दृश्यते कथंभूतं किसलयकरैर्नृत्यदिव मुकुलावलिभिः कुड्मलश्रेणीभिः स्फुटप्रकटितकुसुमोग्दममिव (read ०पुलकोद्गममिव)। तथा सममेव समकालमेव तरुणैरलिकुलैः कृतगीति कृतगानमित्यर्थः॥ ९॥ वरजाईत्यत्र। हे भ्रमर तव वरजातिकुसमं स्मरतः शब्दं कुर्वतश्चिरं सुखं परिदृश्यते। मातङ्गे मदान्धे तव रममाणस्य कर्णचपेटैव भविष्यति। अन्योपि यो वरजातिं कुलीनपुरुषं सेवते स सुखी स्यात्। यस्तु मातङ्गे चण्डाले रमते स दुःखी स्यादित्यर्थः॥ १०॥

षश्चूर्हरिणीपदम् ॥ १२ ॥

एकः षण्मात्रश्चतुर्मात्रषट्कं हरिणीपदम् । यथा—

एत्तहे गब्भभरालस हरिणी पउ न हु एक्कोवि संचरइ ।
एत्तहे कण्णा[1]रोविअसरु हयलोद्धओ[2] भण मिओ[3] किं करइ ॥ ११ ॥

षीचताः कमलाकरम् ॥ १३ ॥

षण्मात्रचतुष्कं चतुर्मात्रत्रिमात्रौ च कमलाकरम् । यथा—

सयलु वि दिणु संनिहिअह खेलंतह चक्कवायमिहुणहं निअवि ।
विरहदुत्थ[4] मित्तत्थवणि नाइ दुक्खिअ मउलिहिं कमलायरवि[5] ॥ १२ ॥

चृतौ कुङ्कुमतिलकावली ॥ १४ ॥

चतुर्मात्रसप्तकं त्रिमात्रश्च कुङ्कुमतिलकावली । यथा—

महु दूसहविरहकरालिअहि[6] मयण मेलसु जणु मणवंछिउ ।
पइं पडिम ठवेविणु करिसु[7] सामि कुंकुमतिलयावलिलंछिउ ॥ १३ ॥

ते रत्नकण्ठिके ठजैः ॥ १५ ॥

ते कमलाकरकुङ्कुमतिलकावल्यौ ठजैर्द्वादशभिरष्टाभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा रत्नकण्ठिके । यथा—

जइ न हससि न य कुप्पसि न लवसि ता तुहु सहइ रयणकण्ठिआ ।
अन्नह फुरिआहरदरदीसंत णवर सहइ दसणपंतिआ ॥ १४ ॥
पडिहअबहुविहनरवइकुंजरसइ परसाहिज्जविवज्जिओ ।
महिअलि निरुवमविक्कमु तुहु रायरयण[8] कंठीरवु निच्छिउ ॥ १५ ॥

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[1] कण्णरोविअ Bom. [2] हयलोद्धउ NA. [3] मिउ NA.
[4] हुत्थ SA. [5] कमलायरुवि SA. [6] करालिअहिं NA.
[7] करिमु Bom. [8] रायराण NA.; रायण Bom.

एत्ताहेत्यत्र । इतो मद(read गर्भ)भरालसा हरिणी न एकमपि पदं संचरति इतः कर्णारोपितशरो हतलुब्धको वर्तते । भण मृगः किं करोति । यदि हरिणीमपेक्षते तदा लुब्धकेन विनश्यते यदि लुब्धकात् त्रस्तो भवति तदा हरिणी विनश्यति ॥ ११ ॥ सयलुवीत्यत्र । सकलमपि दिनं संनिहितानां समीपस्थानां सतां खेलतां चक्रमिथुनानां दृष्ट्वा विरहदौस्थ्यं मित्रस्य सूर्यस्यास्तमने दुःखिता इव मुकुलयन्ति कमलाकरा अपि ॥ १२ ॥ महु इत्यत्र । हे मदन मम मनोवाञ्छितं जनं प्रियतमं मेलय दुःसहविरहकरालितायाः । हे स्वामिन् अहं त्वां प्रतिमायां स्थापयित्वा कुङ्कुमतिलकावलीलाञ्छितं करिष्ये ॥ १३ ॥ जइ न हेत्यत्र । यदि न हससि न कुप्यसि न लपसि तदा तव राजते रत्नकण्ठिका । अन्यथा यदि हसनादिकं किमपि करोषि तदा न वरं केवलं दशनपङ्क्तिरेव राजते किंविशिष्टा स्फुरिताधरेणोष्ठेन दृश्यमाना । रत्नकण्ठिका तावद्राजते यावद्दन्तपङ्क्तिर्न दृश्यते । यदि दन्तपङ्क्तिर्दृष्टा तर्हि रत्नकण्ठिका जाता निःश्रीकेति भावः ॥ १४ ॥ (पडिहअ इत्यत्र) । प्रतिहतबहुविधनरपतिकुञ्जरशतः परसाहाय्यविवर्जितः महीतले निरुपमविक्रमस्त्वं

षचुपाः शिखा ॥ १६ ॥

ठजैरित्यनुवर्त्तते । एकः षण्मात्रः पञ्च चतुर्मात्राः पञ्चमात्रश्च शिखा । यथा—

जसु अतुलिअगयबलभरि कंपहिं कुलमहिहर सवि सवसुन्धर ।
निअकुलनहयलससहर वीरसिहामणि जयमज्झि तुहुं[1] जि पर ॥ १६ ॥

चृतौ छड्डुणिका[2] ञजैः ॥ १७ ॥

सप्त चतुर्मात्राः त्रिमात्रश्च । ञजैरिति दशभिरष्टाभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा छड्डुणिका[2] । यथा—

जा किन्नरमिहुणिहिं तुह पुहईसर पत्थुअ[3] सुचरिअ[4]पद्धडिअ ।
ता गिरिगुहसंधिहिं कायर तक्खणि हुअ रिउघोरणि छड्डुणिअ[5] ॥ १७ ॥

चृः स्कन्धकसमम् ॥ १८ ॥

ञजैरिति वर्त्तते । अष्ट चतुर्मात्राश्चेत्तदा स्कन्धकसमम् । यथा—

नारिहुं वयणुल्लइं सरि खंधयसमजलहिं मज्झि मज्जंतिअहं[6] ।
ओ गिण्हहिं[7] विब्भमु मणहरअहिणवविअसिअसररुहपंतिअहं ॥ १८ ॥

तत् मौक्तिकदाम ठजैः ॥ १९ ॥

ठजैरिति द्वादशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदेव स्कन्धकसमं मौक्तिकदाम । यथा—

जइ तुहु पवयणु सामिअ हिअइ ठविज्जइ[8] छण[9]ससहरकरनिम्मलु ।
ता निच्छउ अहिराम्वहु मुत्तिअदाम्वहु तरलहु संगहु निप्फलु[10] ॥ १९ ॥

नवकदलीपत्रं ढजैः ॥ २० ॥

ढजैरिति चतुर्दशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदेव स्कन्धकसमं नवकदलीपत्रम् । यथा—

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[1] तुहं Bom.; NA. [2] छद्दणिका Bom. [3] वत्थुअ SA.
[4] सुचरिय SA. [5] छद्दणिअ Bom.; SA. [6] मज्जंतिअह Bom.
[7] गिण्हिहिं Bom.; NA. [8] वविज्जइ Bom.; SA. [9] थण Bom.; SA.
[10] निष्फलु NA.

राजन् रत्न (read राजरत्न) कण्ठीरवो निश्चितम् ॥ १५ ॥ जसु इत्यत्र । यस्य तवातुलितगजबलभरे सति कम्पन्ते के कुलमहीधराः पर्वताः सवसुन्धराः हे निजकुलनभस्तलशशधर वीरशिखामणिर्जगन्मध्ये परं केवलं त्वमेव ॥ १६ ॥ जा किंनरेत्यत्र । यावत्किन्नरमिथुनैः तव हे पृथ्वीधर प्रस्तुता सुचरितपद्धतिस्तावद्रिपुधोरणयो गिरिगुहासन्धीनां त्याजिका भूताः कातराः सत्यः ॥ १७ ॥ नारीत्यत्र । नारीणां वदनान्येवेति विगृह्य स्वार्थे कःश्चवेति डुल्लुः प्रत्ययः । वदनानि सरसि स्कन्धकसमजलस्य मध्ये निमज्जन्तीनां मनोहराभिनवविकसितसरोरुहपङ्क्तीनां विभ्रमं गृह्णन्ति ॥ १८ ॥ जइ तुहेत्यत्र । हे वीतराग यदि तव प्रवचनं हृदये संस्थाप्यते कीदृग् क्षणशशधरो राकेन्दुस्तद्वन्निर्मलं तदा अभिरामस्य मौक्तिकदाम्नः संग्रहो राशीकरणं

नवकयलीपत्तिहिं[1] वीअणु पत्थुउं[2] कम्वलिहिं विरइउ सत्थरउ ।
तहवि हु दाहु पवट्टइ मज्झ सीउ उवयरणु पिअसहि संवरउ ॥ २० ॥

षचूदैः कृतेष्वेषु स्त्रीत्वम् ॥ २१ ॥

षण्मात्रश्चतुर्मात्रषट्कं द्विमात्रश्चेत्येभिर्मात्रागणैः कृतेष्वेषु स्कन्धकसमादिषु त्रिषु स्त्रीत्वं स्त्रीलिङ्ग-शब्दाभिधेयत्वम् । स्कन्धकसमा मौक्तिकदाम्नी नवकदलीपत्रा चेत्यर्थः । यतिः सैव । स्कन्धकसमा यथा—

गयपत्तपरिग्गह सुमणसविरहिअ फलवज्जिअ तरुखंधसम ।
कंटयपरिवारिअ[3] गिरिकंदरगय तुह रिउ वसहिं विमुक्ककम ॥ २१ ॥

एवमितरयोरप्युदाहार्यम् ।

चूपावायामकम् ॥ २२ ॥

सप्त चतुर्मात्राः पञ्चमात्रश्चैक आयामकम् । यथा—

आयामयधवलत्तणगुणकलिए पेच्छवि केअइदलि अलि विलसिरु ।
संभरि पिअनयणइं विरहज्जरजज्जरिअगमणु मुज्झइ पहिउ चिरु ॥ २२ ॥

तत्काञ्चीदाम ञजैः ॥ २३ ॥

ञजैरिति दशभिरष्टाभिश्च चेद्यतिस्तदा तदायामकं काञ्चीदाम । यथा—

अंगय फुडिअ तुडिअ नवकंचुअगुण[4] दलिउ कंचिदामु सनिअंसणु ।
तहिं तुह गुणसवणिण ऊससिअंगिहिं अप्पडिहयसासणु हू मयणु ॥ २३ ॥

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[1] पत्तहिं Bom. [2] पत्थुओ Bom.; SA. [3] परिचारिअ Bom.
[4] कंचुउगुण Bom.

निष्फलमेव ॥ १९ ॥ नवकेत्यत्र । नवकदलीपत्रैर्वीजनं प्रस्तुतं कमलैर्विरचितः स्रस्तरः तथापि दाहः प्रवर्तते मम शीतोपचयकरणं शीतोपचारं संवृणु ॥ २० ॥ गयपत्तेत्यत्र । हे राजन् विमुक्तक्रमा गिरिकन्दर-गतास्तव रिपवः सन्ति कथंभूताः तरुस्कन्धसमाः । यथा हि तरुस्कन्धा गिरिकन्दरगता वसन्ति तथा रिपवोपि । कथंभूताः गजा हस्तिनः पत्राणि वाहनानि परिग्रहः कलत्रं सुमनसः साधवस्तैर्विरहिताः फलेन गजादीनां उपभोगेन वर्जिताः कण्टकैः खलैः परिवारिताः । तरुस्कन्धपक्षे गतः पत्रपरिग्रहो येषां सुमनोभिः पुष्पैर्विरहिताः फलवर्जिताः कण्टकैः परिवारिताः ॥ २१ ॥ आयामेत्यत्र । आयतत्वधवलत्वगुणकलिते केतकी-दले विलसन्तं अलिं प्रेक्ष्य प्रियानयने स्मृत्वा विरहज्वरजर्जरगमनः मुह्यति पथिकश्चिरम् ॥ २२ ॥ अंगये-त्यत्र । अङ्गानि स्फुटितानि रोमाञ्चः उत्पन्नः इत्यर्थः । त्रुटिता नवकञ्चुकस्य गुणास्तन्तवः दलितं सवसनं परिधानवस्त्रसहितं काञ्चिदाम कटिमेखला तस्यास्तव गुणश्रवणेन उच्छ्वसिताङ्गयाः । अप्रतिहत-

रसनादाम ठजैः ॥ २४ ॥

ठजैरिति द्वादशभिरष्टाभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदायामकं रसनादाम । यथा—

तुह दंसणतूरंतिए सुंदर मुद्धए सुणि जं किउ पच्चल्लिउ ।
हारु निअंवि निवेसिउ रसनादामुवि थणसिहरोवरि घल्लिउ ॥ २४ ॥

चूडामणिर्ढजैः ॥ २५ ॥

ढजैरिति चतुर्दशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदायामकं चूडामणिः । यथा—

बहुविहसमरंगणि खग्गिण[1] नवनव जयसिरि जं पइं परिणिज्जइ ।
निवचूडामणि तुह कित्तिहिं मंगलकारणि तं जगु धवलिज्जइ ॥ २५ ॥

षचूतैः कृतान्यायामकादीन्युपात् ॥ २६ ॥

षण्मात्रेण चतुर्मात्रषट्केन त्रिमात्रेण कृतान्यायामकादीनि चत्वार्यपि उपात्पराणि भवन्ति । उपायामकं उपकाञ्चीदाम उपरसनादाम उपचूडामणिरित्यर्थः । यतिरपि सैव । तत्रोपायामकम् । यथा—

तणुअंगिहिं लोअणनलिणिहिं उअ आयामिण केअइदलु निज्जिउ[2] ।
वयणुल्लइं कंतिकडप्पिण तह मयलंछणमंडलु अवहत्थिउ[3] ॥ २६ ॥

एवमन्यान्यप्युदाहरणीयानि ।

चृदौ स्वप्नकम् ॥ २७ ॥

अष्टौ चतुर्मात्रा द्विमात्रश्च स्वप्नकम् । यथा—

पिउ आइउ निवडिउ पइहिं सपणयवयणिहिं अणुणिवि माणु मुआविअ[4] ।
इअ सिविणयभरि आलिंगिमि जाम्वहिं ताम्वहिं सहि हयकुक्कुडि[5] रडिअ ॥ २७ ॥

तत् भुजङ्गविक्रान्तं ठजैः ॥ २८ ॥

ठजैरिति द्वादशभिरष्टभिश्च चेद्यतिस्तदा तदेव स्वप्नकं भुजङ्गविक्रान्तम् । यथा—

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[1] खणिण Bom. [2] निज्जिओ Bom.; SA. [3] अवहत्थिओ Bom.; SA.
[4] सुआविअ Bom. [5] कुक्कडि Bom.; कुक्कुड NA.; SA. But see Com.

शासनो भूतो मदनः ॥ २३ ॥ तुहेत्यत्र । हे सुभग तव दर्शनत्वरमाणया मुग्धया शृणु यत्कृतं प्रत्युत हारो नितम्बे निवेशितः रसनादामापि स्तनशिखरोपरि क्षिप्तं संभ्रमयोगादित्यर्थः ॥ २४ ॥ बहुविधेत्यत्र । बहुविधसमराङ्गणे खड्गेन नवनवा जयश्रीर्यत्परिणीयते त्वया हे नृपचूडामणे तव कीर्तिभिः मङ्गलकारणे मङ्गलार्थं जगद्विश्वं धवल्यते धवलीक्रियते इत्यर्थः ॥ २५ ॥ तणुअंगि इत्यत्र । तन्वङ्ग्या लोचननलिनाभ्यां पश्य दैर्घ्येण केतकीदलं विनिर्जितं तथा वदनेन कान्तिसमूहेन मृगलाञ्छनमण्डलं चन्द्रबिम्बं अपहस्तितं निराकृतमित्यर्थः ॥ २६ ॥ पिउ आईत्यत्र । प्रियः आयातः निपतितः पादयोः सप्रणयवचनैः सप्रेम-वचनैरनुनीय मानं मोचिता इत्यमुना प्रकारेण स्वप्नभरेण आलिङ्गामि यावत्तावत् हतकुक्कुटेन

तुह रणि नट्ठ रसायलि गय अरि कारणि इणि किर भुअंग विक्कंतय।
ताहं विलासभवणि पुरि लीलावणि परिअंचहिं निवसहिं चिरु गयभय ॥ २८ ॥

ताराध्रुवकं ढजैः ॥ २९ ॥.

ढजैरिति चतुर्दशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदेव स्वप्नकं ताराध्रुवकम्। यथा—

तुह रिउ वणगय दिसिमोहिअ ताराधुव अवलोअहिं जाम्वहिं अवहिअ।
बाहजलाविलनयण निअहिं न हु ताम्वहिं हुअ हिअडइ मरणासंकिअ॥ २९ ॥

नवरङ्गकं तजैः ॥ ३० ॥

तजैरिति षोडशभिरष्टाभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदेव स्वप्नकं नवरङ्गकम्। यथा—

दहिअक्खयघणचंदणमालिअनवनवरंगय[1]वावड[2] निअवि पिअ।
गाढोक्कंठासरलिअभुअजुओ अवरुंडइ[3] रइरसभरकंदलिअ॥ ३० ॥

षिश्वीः स्थविरासनकम् ॥ ३१ ॥

तजैरिति वर्त्तते। षण्मात्रत्रयं चतुर्मात्रचतुष्टयं च तजैर्यतिश्चेत्तदा स्थविरासनकम्। यथा—

दारविवज्जिअ विसयपरंमुह खलिअगइक्कम अइपसरिअवेविअ।
वेरग्गिण तवसित्तु पवज्जिवि ठिअ[4] थेरासणि तुह तरुणवि वेरिअ[5]॥ ३१ ॥

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[1] नवरंगय SA. [2] वावड Bom. [3] अवरुडइ Bom.; अवकंडइ SA.
[4] ट्ठिअ Bom. [5] विरिअ Bom.

रटितम्॥ २७॥ तुह रणीत्यत्र। तवारयो रणे नष्टाः रसातलं गताः किल अनेन कारणेन भुजगा विक्रान्तास्तेषां विलासभुवने पुर्यां लीलावने पर्यञ्चन्ति निवसन्ति। तेषु नष्टेषु सत्सु तेषां क्रीडास्थाने भुजङ्गाः समाश्रिताः इत्यर्थः॥ २८॥ तुह रिउ इत्यत्र। तव रिपवो वनं गताः दिङ्मूढाः ताराध्रुवं च अवलोकयन्ति यावदवहिताः सावधानाः बाष्पजलाविलनयनाः न पश्यन्ति तावत् भूताः संजाताः हृदये मरणाशङ्किताः। यतो 'यो ध्रुवादि न पश्यति स अचिरेण प्राणत्यागं करोति' (अचिरेण प्रेयते in 2nd ms.) इति निमित्तशास्त्रे॥ २९॥ दहिअक्खेति। दध्यक्षतघनचन्दनमालिकाः नवनवरङ्गकाः वर्णकाश्च तेषु व्यापृतां निरीक्ष्य प्रियां कश्चिदालिङ्गति। कीदृग्। गाढोत्कण्ठया सरलितौ लम्बितौ भुजौ येन स तथा रतिरसभरेण कन्दलितः रोमाञ्चितः॥ ३०॥ दारेत्यत्र। तरुणा अपि तव वैरिणः स्थविरासने स्थिताः। वृद्धा हि निश्चलासने स्थिता भवन्ति। कीदृशाः वृद्धा वैरिणश्च। दारैर्विवर्जिताः विषयपराङ्मुखाः विषयाः शब्दाद्याः पक्षे देशाश्च। स्खलितः गतिक्रमो येषां ते उभयत्र समानं विशेषणम्। अतिप्रसृतं वेपितं येषां ते वि० समानं किं कृत्वा स्थिताः प्रतिपद्य तपस्वित्वं वराकत्वं पक्षे तपःकारित्वं केन वैराग्येण

चृषौ सुभगम् ॥ ३२ ॥

तजैरिति वर्त्तते। सप्त चतुर्मात्राः षण्मात्रश्च सुभगम्। यथा—

जलइ सरोवरि नीलुप्पलवणु वणि लय फुल्लिअ नहयलि हिमकिरणु।
विरहरहक्कइं तुह तणुअंगिहिं सुहय विणिम्मिउ[1] जलु थलु नहु जलणु ॥ ३२ ॥

षचीषचदाः पवनधुवकं ढजैः ॥ ३३ ॥

षण्मात्रश्चतुर्मात्रचतुष्टयं षण्मात्रचतुर्मात्रद्विमात्राः पवनध्रुवकम्। ढजैरिति चतुर्दशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिः। यथा—

बहुहयखरखुरखंडिअमहिउट्ठिअरइं रिउवहुनीसासपवणधुइं[2]।
जसु पयाणछणि अच्छिजुअलअणिमिसनयणत्तणु सुरसुंदरि निंदहिं ॥ ३३ ॥

षचाषचिदाः कुमुदं ञजैः ॥ ३४ ॥

षण्मात्रश्चतुर्मात्रिद्वयं षण्मात्रश्चतुर्मात्रित्रयं द्विमात्रश्च कुमुदम्। ञजैरिनि दशभिरष्टाभिश्च यतिः। यथा—

नरु[3] लच्छिविवज्जिउ मुच्चइ लोइण सव्वुवि[4] ईसरकयअणुसरणु।
मउलियकमलायर निसि अलि मेल्लिवि सेवहिं विअसंतउं कुमुअवणु ॥ ३४ ॥

तद्भाराक्रान्तं ठजैः ॥ ३५ ॥

ठजैरिति द्वादशभिरष्टभिश्च चेद्यतिस्तदा तदेव कुमुदं भाराक्रान्तम्। यथा—

कंचणभूसण छड्डिअ[5] खंडिवि वसणुवि लहुइउ तुरिअ पलाइरिहिं।
तुवि किच्छिण रमणत्थलभारक्कंतिहिं गम्मइ तुह रिउसुंदरिहिं ॥ ३५ ॥

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[1] विणिम्मिओ Bom.; SA. [2] धुइ Bom.; SA. [3] नरु Bom.
[4] सव्वहि Bom.; NA. [5] छड्डिअ Bom.

पक्षे विगतरागत्वेन ॥ ३१ ॥ सुहये (read जलई)त्यत्र। हे सुभग सरोवरे नीलोत्पलवनं ज्वलति वने पुष्पिता लताः नभस्तले हिमकिरणः ज्वलति तव विरहोद्रेकेण तन्वङ्ग्या जलं स्थलं नभः ज्वलनशीलं निर्मितम् ॥ ३२ ॥ बहुहयेत्यत्र। बहुहयखरखुरखण्डितमह्युत्थितरजसा रिपुवधूनिःश्वासपवनधुतेन यस्य प्रयाणक्षणे सुरसुन्दर्योऽक्षियुगलस्यानिमिषनयनत्वं निन्दन्ति। तासां विकसितत्वात् लोचनेषु रेणुपातादित्यर्थः ॥ ३३ ॥ नरु लच्छीत्यत्र। नरो लक्ष्म्या विवर्जितो लोकेन मुच्यते यतः सर्वोपि जनः ईश्वरकृतानुश(स)रणः ऋद्धिमन्तं पुरुषमनुसरतीति भावः। यतोऽलयो भ्रमराः मुकुलितान्संकुचितान् सन्ध्यान्ते त्यक्त्वा रात्रौ कुमुदवनं सेवन्ते विकसत् ॥ ३४ ॥ कंचणभूसणेत्यत्र। काञ्चनभूषणानि त्यक्त्वा वसनमपि खण्डयित्वा लघूकृतं अलघु लघूकृतमित्यर्थः। भूषणादिभारनिरासात् तथापि कृच्छ्रेण रमणस्थलभाराक्रान्ताभिर्गम्यते

चृतौ कन्दोट्टम् ॥ ३६ ॥

अष्टौ चतुर्मात्राः त्रिमात्रश्च कन्दोट्टम्। यथा—

किं झाइउ तिण अविचलचित्तिण किं निम्मलु तवु किउ समरिउमित्तिण।
जं तुह मुहविब्भमहरु कंदोट्ट[1] विसट्ट तरुणि चुंविज्जइ भमरिण॥ ३६॥

षाचृता भ्रमरद्रुतं ञजैः ॥ ३७ ॥

षण्मात्रद्वयं चतुर्मात्रपञ्चकं त्रिमात्रश्च भ्रमरद्रुतम्। ञजैरिति दशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिः। यथा—

कुसुमुग्गमु अज्जुणकेअइकुडयह[2] पेच्छिवि कहवि हु न हु रइ मंडहिं[3]।
नवपाउसि संपइ पइसंतइ ओ जाइ निअंत भमर द्रुओ[4] हिंडहिं॥ ३७॥

तत्सुरक्रीडितं ठजैः ॥ ३८ ॥

ठजैरिति द्वादशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तद्भ्रमरद्रुतं सुरक्रीडितम्। यथा—

सग्गु पहुत्तिहिं तुह परिपंथिहिं किउ अइसंकडु पुहईसर[5] निच्छिउ।
सच्छरगण सुर कीलिउं सक्कहिं नाहिं[6] ति नंदणवण[7]परिसरि इच्छिउ॥ ३८॥

सिंहविक्रान्तं ढजैः ॥ ३९ ॥

ढजैरिति चतुर्दशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदेव भ्रमरद्रुतं सिंहविक्रान्तम्। यथा—

अच्छउ ता उब्भडभुअबलु चक्खुक्खेविण विहडयंतु[8] रिउभडहिअउ।
सुरनरसीहविक्कंतचरिउ लंघेविणु ठिउ[9] रेहइ पुहईसर[10]तिलओ॥ ३९॥

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[1] कंदोट्टु SA. [2] कुडयहं SA. [3] मंडुहिं SA.
[4] डुउ SA. [5] पुहइसर Bom.; SA. [6] नोहिंति Bom.
[7] वण is dropped in Bom.; NA.; SA. But it is needed by metre and supported by Com.
[8] विहडयतु Bom. [9] ठिउ Bom.; SA. [10] पुहरइसर Bom.

भारमुद्वोढुमशक्यत्वात् तव रिपुसुन्दरीभिः॥ ३५॥ किं झाईत्यत्र। किं ध्यातं तेन अविचलचित्तेन किं निर्मलं तपः कृतं तेन समरिपुमित्रेण सता यत् हे तरुणि भ्रमरेण तव मुखविभ्रमधरं विकसितपद्मं चुम्ब्यते आश्लिष्यते। तस्या सौभाग्यातिशयवर्णनमित्यर्थः॥ ३६॥ कुसुमुग्गेति। भ्रमराः अर्जुन-केतकीकुटजानां कुसुमोद्गमं दृष्ट्वा क्वापि रतिं न मण्डयन्ति संप्रति नवप्रावृषि प्रविशन्त्याम्। प्रावृषि जातिपुष्पाणि न भवन्ति तेन जातिं पश्यन्तः सन्तो द्रुतं शीघ्रं हिण्डन्ते भ्रमन्ति इत्यर्थः॥ ३७॥ सग्गुपे-त्यत्र। हे पृथ्वीश्वर निश्चितं तव रिपु(read परि-)पन्थिभिः स्वर्गं गतैरतिसंकटं कृतं ततः साप्सरोगणाः देवाः नन्दनवनपरिसरे ईप्सितं यथा भवति तथा एवं क्रीडितुं न शक्नुवन्ति न समर्था भवन्ति दारग्रहणोत्थ-भयादित्यर्थः॥ ३८॥ अच्छउ तेत्यत्र। आस्तां तावदुद्भटभुजबलं अर्थात्त्वदीयं पृथ्वीश्वरतिलकः चक्षुः-

कुङ्कुमकेसरं तजैः ॥ ४० ॥

तजैरिति षोडशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदेव भ्रमरद्रुतं कुङ्कुमकेसरम् । यथा—

नयणविलासिण निज्जिअ कुवलय[1] कंतिकडप्पिण[2] कुंकुमकेसरनिअरु ।
डसण[3]झलक्कइं हीरय विनडिय ससहरु वयणिण कांइ न मुद्धहि पवरु ॥ ४० ॥

च्लृ बालभुजङ्गमललितम् ॥ ४१ ॥

च्लृ इति लुप्तविभक्तिको निर्देशः । नव चतुर्मात्रा बालभुजङ्गमललितम् । यथा—

दुद्दमरिउमहिवाल[4]भुअंगमललिअझडप्पणि तुहुं[5] निच्छइं[6] गरुडोवमु ।
जं पुण पुरिसोत्तिमसिरचूडामणि वुच्चसि पुहईवल्लह तं निरुवमु ॥ ४१ ॥

षिचीदा उपगन्धर्वं ठजैः ॥ ४२ ॥

षण्मात्रत्रयं चतुर्मात्रचतुष्टयं द्विमात्रश्चोपगन्धर्वम् । ठजैरिति द्वादशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिः । यथा—

गयघड[7]-तुरयघट्ट-रहवूह-महाभडनिवह-रयणभंडार-समिद्धुवि ।
उव गंधव्वनयरसमु पुहइवइत्तणु तिणु जिम्व चयहिं विवेअवंत किवि ॥ ४२ ॥

तत्सङ्गीतं ढजैः ॥ ४३ ॥

ढजैरिति चतुर्दशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदेवोपगन्धर्वं सङ्गीतम् । यथा—

वज्जहिं गज्जिरघणमद्दल नच्चहिं नहयलअंगणि नव चंचलविज्जुल ।
गायहिं सिहि इअ[8] संगोअउ पाउसलच्छिहिं करइ जुआणह मण आउल ॥ ४३ ॥

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[1] कुवलअ Bom. [2] कंतिकडप्पिणं SA. [3] दसण Com.
[4] महिवाल Bom. [5] तुहं Bom. [6] निच्छइं SA.
[7] गजगड Com. [8] इह Bom.

क्षेपेणापि रिपुभटहृदयं विघटयन् तन्नरसिंहविक्रान्तं लङ्घयित्वा राजते ॥ ३९ ॥ नयनेत्यत्र । नयनविलासेन निर्जितानि कुवलयानि कान्तिसमूहेन कुङ्कुमकेसरे निर्जिते दसणझलक्केन दशनकान्त्या हीरकाः विनटिताः शशधरो वदनेन विनटितः मुग्धायाः किं न प्रवरं अपि तु (add सर्वं) प्रवरं वर्तते इत्यर्थः ॥ ४० ॥ दुद्दमेत्यत्र । दुर्दमरिपुमहीपालभुजंगमललितविनाशने त्वं निश्चयेन गरुडोपमः । यत्पुनः पुरुषोत्तमस्य नारायणस्य शिरश्चूडामणिरुच्यसे हे पृथ्वीवल्लभ तन्निरुपमम् । द्वितीयपक्षे पुरुषोत्तमाः पुरुषप्रधानाः ॥ ४१ ॥ गजगडेत्यत्र । गजघटातुरङ्गमघटा-रथव्यूह-महाभटनिवह-रत्नभाण्डागार-समृद्धमपि गन्धर्वनगरसमानं, आकाशे हि गन्धर्वनगरं क्षणदृष्टनष्टस्वरूपं भवति तत्समानं पृथ्वीपतित्वं तृणमिव केपि विवेकवन्तस्त्यजन्ति ॥ ४२ ॥ वज्जहींत्यत्र । गर्जनशीला घना एव मर्दला वाद्यन्ते । नभस्तलाङ्गणे नवचञ्चला विद्युतो नृत्यन्ति । गायन्ति शिखिनो मयूराः इति प्रकारान्तरेण प्रावृट्लक्ष्म्याः संगीतकं प्रेक्षणकं यूनां मनांसि आकुलानि करोति ॥ ४३ ॥

उपगीतं तजैः ॥ ४४ ॥

तजैरिति षोडशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदेवोपगन्धर्वमुपगीतम्। यथा—

जसु भुअबलु हेलुद्धरिअधरणि निसुणिवि वणयरगणउवगीउ सुविक्कमु।
अज्जवि हरिसिअ[1] नवदब्भंकुरदंभिण पयडहिं कुलमहिहर पुलउग्गमु॥ ४४॥

चदृपौ गोन्दलम् ॥ ४५ ॥

अष्टौ चतुर्मात्राः पञ्चमात्रश्च गोन्दलम्। यथा—

सइ विज्जुलअविउत्तउ तुहुं जलहर करि गुन्दलु निट्ठु न जाणसि विरहिअहं।
इअ भणि चिंतिवि[2] किंपि अमंगलु दइअहुं अंसुपवाहु[3] पलुट्टउ पंथिअहं॥ ४५॥

षचृता रथ्यावर्णकं ठजैः ॥ ४६ ॥

षण्मात्रश्चतुर्मात्रसप्तकं त्रिमात्रश्च रथ्यावर्णकं ठजैरिति द्वादशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिः। यथा—

विरहरहक्कइं सुहय न जंपइ न हसइ जीवइ केवलु पिअपच्चासइ।
अहवा कित्तिउ[4] रत्थावण्णणु करिसहुं निच्छइं मरिसहुं[5] तुहु जसु नासइ॥ ४६।

तचचरी ढजैः ॥ ४७ ॥

ढजैरिति चतुर्दशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदेव रथ्यावर्णकं चच्चरी। यथा—

चच्चरि चारु चवहिं अच्छर किवि रासउ खेल्लहिं किवि किवि गायहिं वरधवलु।
रयहिं रयणसत्थिअ किवि दहिअक्खय गिण्हहिं किवि जंमूसवि तुह जिणधवल॥ ४७॥

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[1] हरसिअ SA. [2] चिंतवि Bom.; NA. [3] असुंपवाहु Bom.
[4] किन्तिउ Bom. [5] मरिसहि ? see Com.

जसु इत्यत्र। यस्य भुजवलं श्रुत्वा किंविशिष्टं हेलया उद्धृता धरणी येन तत् पुनः किं वनचरोपगीतं पुनः किं सुविक्रमं अद्यापि हर्षिता कुलमहीवरा नवदर्भाङ्कुरदम्भेन पुलकोद्गमं प्रकटयन्ति रोमाञ्चकञ्चुकम् ॥ ४४॥ सईत्यत्र। स्वयं विद्युल्लतया अवियुक्तस्त्वं हे जलधर कुरु गुन्दलं वर्द्धलं (वार्दलं ?) अथवा गुन्दलं मर्दलध्वनिं गम्भीरध्वनिमित्यर्थः। अनिष्टां पीडां न जानासि विरहितानां इत्युपालम्भं भणित्वा निजदयितां किमप्यमङ्गलं मृत्युप्रभृति चिन्तयित्वा पथिकानां अश्रुप्रवाहः पर्यस्तः पतितः॥ ४५॥ विरहेत्यत्र। विरहोद्रेकेण हे सुभग न जल्पति न हसति केवलं प्रियप्रत्याशया जीवति। अथवा कियद् रथ्यावर्णनं शून्यवर्णनं करिष्यामः। निश्चयेन सा म्रियते तव यशो नश्यति॥ ४६॥ चच्चरीत्यत्र। हे जिनधवल हे जिनवृषभ तव जन्मोत्सवे चच्चरीं कथयन्ति अप्सरसः काः अपि रासकान् खेलन्ति काः अपि वरधवलानि गायन्ति काः अपि वर(रत्न-?)स्वस्तिकान् रचयन्ति काः अपि दध्यक्षतानि

अभिनवं तजैः ॥ ४८ ॥

तजैरिति षोडशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदेव रथ्यावर्णकमभिनवम् । यथा—

किं अज्जवि माणंसिणिमाणसि माणु[1] विसट्टइ माणइ न पयाणउ रमणु ।
इअ संजाइण कोविण णावइ आरत्तयतणु अहिणवउग्गमि हिमकिरणु ॥ ४८ ॥

चूषचताश्चपलम् ॥ ४९ ॥

तजैरिति वर्तते । चतुर्मात्रषट्कं षण्मात्रश्चतुर्मात्रत्रिमात्राश्चपलम् । यथा—

सुरसरितुंगतरंगसहोअर कित्ति चवल तुह ठाणट्ठिउ[2] जगु धवलइ ।
पुट्ठि भमंतिहु रिउअवकित्तिहु कालत्तणु नहु निवचूलामणि कवलइ[3] ॥ ४९ ॥

चूषौ चावमृतम् ॥ ५० ॥

तजैरिति वर्तते । चतुर्मात्रषट्कं षण्मात्रश्चतुर्मात्रद्वयं चामृतम् । यथा—

उण्हय[4] अमयमऊहमऊहवि दूसहु चंदणपंकुवि जलइ लयाहरुवि ।
इय तुह विरहिण तहि तणुअंगिहि सुहय सुहाइ[5] न किंपि वि पसिअहि दय करिवि ॥ ५० ॥

चल्दौ सिंहपदम् ॥ ५१ ॥

तजैरिति वर्तते । नव चतुर्मात्रा द्विमात्रश्च सिंहपदम् । यथा—

जावयरसरंजिअवरकामिणिपयपडिबिंबिहिं लंछिइ जइ किर[6] आसि सइ ।
संपइ हयवणगयरुहिरारुणसीहपयंकिअ तुह रिउघरइं ति पिच्छिअहि ॥ ५१ ॥

तद्दीर्घकं ढजैः ॥ ५२ ॥

ढजैरिति चतुर्दशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिश्चेत्तदा तदेव सिंहपदं दीर्घकम् । यथा—

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[1] मणु Bom.; SA. [2] ठाणट्ठिउ Bom.; ठाणठिउ NA. [3] कवलइं Bom.; SA.
[4] उन्हय Com. [5] सुहाइं NA. [6] किरि SA.

गृह्णन्ति ॥ ४७ ॥ किं अज्जेत्यत्र । किमद्यापि मनस्विनीमानसे चित्ते मानोऽहंकारो विसर्पति कस्मात्पादावनतं चरणलग्नं रमणं प्रियं न मानयति इति संजातेन कोपेनेव आरक्ततनुरभिनवोद्गमे नवोदये हिमकिरणः शीतांशुः ॥ ४८ ॥ सुरसरीत्यत्र । सुरसरित् गङ्गा तस्यास्तरङ्गाः कल्लोलाः तेषां सहोदरा तव चपला कीर्तिः स्थानस्थितमपि जगद् धवलयति । पृष्ठे भ्रमन्तीनामपि वैरिकुकीर्तीनां कालत्वं हे नृपचूडामणे न कलयति नाश्रयति ॥ ४९ ॥ उन्हयेत्यत्र । अमृतमयूखमयूखा अपि चन्द्रकिरणा अपि उष्णकाः चन्दनपङ्कोपि दुःसहः ज्वलति लतागृहमपि इति तव विरहेण तस्याः तन्वङ्गयाः हे सुभग न किमपि सुखायते प्रसीद प्रसादं कुरु अनुग्रहं दयां कुरु दयां कृत्वा ॥ ५० ॥ जावयेत्यत्र । यावकरसरञ्जितवरकामिनीपदप्रतिबिम्बितैर्लाञ्छितानि यानि किलासन् सदा संप्रति हतवनगजरुधिरारुणसिंहपदाङ्कितानि तव रिपुगृहाणि

दीहरभुअदंडविडंबिअसुरसिंधुरकरु उरयडतुलिअविसालसिलायलु ।
उब्भडकोअंडपयंडिमहसिअधणंजउ पिउ एक्कंगिण जिणइ वेरिवलु ॥ ५२ ॥

षश्चृः कलकण्ठीरुतम् ॥ ५३ ॥

ढजैरिति वर्त्तते । षण्मात्रश्चतुर्मात्राष्टकं च कलकण्ठीरुतम् । यथा—
मिउ मलयसमीरणु अंगिहिं अहिणवपल्लव दिट्ठिहिं कलयंठीरुउ[1] कन्नहिं[2] ।
विसकंदलिसन्निह मुद्धह[3] दूसह[4] खणि खणि पाणंतिउ मुच्छाभरु अप्पहिं ॥ ५३ ॥

षाचूदाः शतपत्रम् ॥ ५४ ॥

ढजैरिति वर्त्तते । षण्मात्रद्वयं चतुर्मात्रिषट्कं द्विमात्रश्च शतपत्रम् । यथा--
एक्कु पसारइ जइ दिअवइ[5] कर तुवि मउलइ सयवत्तु निरारिउ[6] आउलउं ।
पहु तुह पुण करसरसीरुहु दिअवइलक्खिवि दिट्ठइ फुडु विअसइ अग्गलउं[7] ॥ ५४ ॥

च्लृतावतिदीर्घं ढजैः ॥ ५५ ॥

चतुर्मात्रिनवकं त्रिमात्रश्चातिदीर्घं ढजैरिति चतुर्दशभिरष्टभिश्च यतिः । यथा--
जइ जाहिं सुरसरिअ जइ गिरिनिज्झर सेवहिं[8] जइ पइसहि काणणतरुसंडय ।
रिउ नित्र तुवि नवि छुट्टहिं पहु तुज्झु पयावहु कालहु अइदीहर[9]भुअदंडय ॥ ५५ ॥

षाचूता मत्तमातङ्गविजृम्भितम् ॥ ५६ ॥

ढजैरिति वर्त्तते । षण्मात्रद्वयं चतुर्मात्रिषट्कं त्रिमात्रश्च मत्तमातङ्गविजृम्भितम् । यथा--
पयडिअलंछणमयलेहिण उल्लासिअकरदंडिण ताराहरणिण निसिअरिण ।
उअ[10] नीसंकिण भउ विरहिणिजणहु जणिज्जइ असमु मत्तमायंगविअंभिइण ॥ ५६ ॥

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[1] कलकंठीरुउ SA. [2] कण्णिहिं SA. [3] मुद्धहि SA.
[4] दूसहु SA. [5] विअवइ SA. [6] निरारिओ Bom.; निरालउ Com.
[7] णग्गलउं ? see Com. [8] सेवइ SA. [9] दीहिहर Bom. [10] उभ SA.

तानि दृश्यन्ते । शून्यत्वात् वनश्वापदानां निवासः ॥ ५१ ॥ दीहरेत्यत्र । दीर्घभुजदण्डविडम्बितसुरसिन्धुरकरः उरःस्थलतुलितविशालशिलातलः उद्भटकोदण्डप्रचण्डिमहसितधनंजयोऽर्जुनः प्रियः एकाङ्गेन न परसाहाय्येन वैरिबलं जयति एक एवेत्यर्थः ॥ ५२ ॥ मिउमेत्यत्र । मृदुमलयसमीरणः अङ्गेषु, विभक्तिविपरिणामो, विषकन्दलीसंनिभः इति सर्वत्र योज्यम् । अभिनवपल्लवाः दृष्ट्योर्विषसंनिभाः कलकण्ठीरुतं कर्णयोर्विषकन्दलीसंनिभं विरहात् । विरहः प्राणिनां दुःखकारणं भवतीत्यर्थः ॥ ५३ ॥ एक्कुपेत्यत्र । यदि एकोपि प्रसारयति द्विजपतिः करं ततोपि मुकुलयति शतपत्रं निरालउत्ति निश्चितं आउलति (read आउलउत्ति) आकुलम् । हे प्रभो तव पुनः करसरसीरुहं हस्तकमलं द्विजपतिलक्षेपि दृष्टे स्फुटं प्रकटं अनर्गलं यथा भवति तथा विकसति । एकदा द्विजपतिश्चन्द्रोऽन्यदा ब्राह्मणवरः ॥ ५४ ॥ जईत्यत्र । हे अतिदीर्घभुजदण्ड यद्यपि हे नृपवर तव वैरिणः सुरसरितं गङ्गां प्रतियान्ति यदि च गिरिनिर्झराणि सेवन्ते यदि कान्तारतरुषण्डेषु प्रविशन्ति तथापि काल इव कालात्तव प्रतापान्न च्छुटन्ति ॥ ५५ ॥ पयडियेत्यत्र । पश्यति (read

चत्वारिंशत्कला एकद्व्यधिका वा मालाध्रुवकम् ॥ ५७ ॥

चत्वारिंशन्मात्रा यद्वा एकद्व्यधिका इति एकचत्वारिंशद्द्विचत्वारिंशद्वा मालाध्रुवकं नाम द्विपदी। यथा—

तुह[1] पुहईसरसेहर कित्ति अकित्तिम सुरहिअदिसिमुह जाम्वहिं सग्गि पइट्ठिअ।
ताम्वहिं तक्खणि सुरसुंदरिलोअहु सुरतरुकुसुममाल ध्रुवु[2] हुअ मणउच्छिट्ठिअ ॥ ५७ ॥

एवमेकद्व्यधिकयोरप्युदाहार्यम्। एवं द्विपदीध्रुवा चतुःषष्टिः। अयं चात्र विवेकः।

सिंहावलोकितार्थेषु विज्ञप्तौ संविधानके।
मङ्गले च[3] ध्रुवा प्रोक्ता द्विपद्यन्यत्र[4] कीर्त्यते ॥ १ ॥

इति। प्रकारान्तरेण द्विपदीराह।

चो विजया ॥ ५८ ॥ एकश्चतुर्मात्रः पादे चेद्विजया नाम द्विपदी। यथा—

सजया। विजया ॥ ५८ ॥

पो रेवका ॥ ५९ ॥ पञ्चमात्रो रेवका।

बहुवया। रेवया ॥ ५९ ॥

षो गणद्विपदी ॥ ६० ॥ षण्मात्रो गणद्विपदी। यथा—

नियं[5]जुवई। गणदु वई ॥ ६० ॥

चतौ स्वरद्विपदी ॥ ६१ ॥ चतुर्मात्रत्रिमात्रौ स्वरद्विपदी। यथा—

पसरदु वई। अखलिय[6]गई ॥ ६१ ॥

पदावप्सराः ॥ ६२ ॥ पञ्चमात्रद्विमात्रावप्सराः। यथा—

उअ अच्छरा। गयमच्छरा ॥ ६२ ॥

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[1] तह Bom.; NA. [2] ध्रुव SA. [3] मङ्गलेव Bom.; SA.
[4] द्विपदान्यत्र Bom. [5] निअ Com. [6] अखलिअ Bom.

पश्य) निशाकरेण विरहिणीजनस्य असमं भयं जन्यते कथंभूतेन मत्तमातङ्गवद्विजृम्भितं यस्य सः तेन प्रकटिता लाञ्छनमेव मदलेखा येन सः उल्लासितकरदण्डेन तारा एवाभरणानि यस्य स तथा। मत्तमातङ्गोपि मदलेखां प्रकटयति करदण्डमुल्लासयति ताराणि दीप्राणि आभरणानि धत्ते बिभर्ति ॥ ५६ ॥ तुहेत्यत्र। तव हे पृथ्वीश्वरशेखर कीर्तिरकृत्रिमा सुरभितदिङ्मुखा यावत्स्वर्गे प्रतिष्ठिता तावत्क्षणे सुरसुन्दरीलोकस्य सुरतरुकुसुममाला ध्रुवं संजाता मनोऽप्रिया अवल्लभेत्यर्थः ॥ ५७ ॥ अथ प्रकारान्तरेण द्विपदीराहेत्यत्र। सजया विजयेत्यत्र। सजया जयवती विजयादेवी ॥ ५८ ॥ बहुवया रेवया इत्यत्र। बहुबका बहुपया वा रेवया रेवानदी ॥ ५९ ॥ निअजुवेत्यत्र। निजयुवतिं पतिर्गणयतु मानयत्वित्यर्थः ॥ ६० ॥ पसरेत्यत्र। प्रसरतु पतिः अस्खलितगतिः ॥ ६१ ॥ उअ एत्यत्र। पश्य अप्सरसो गतमत्सराः सन्ति ॥ ६२ ॥

अष्टौ कला वसुद्विपदी ॥ ६३ ॥ यथा—

सु तव सुदु वई। जयइ नरवई ॥ ६३ ॥

चौ करिमकरभुजा ॥ ६४ ॥ चतुर्मात्रद्वयं करिमकरभुजा। यथा—

करिमयरभुओ। उव्वहुयभुओ ॥ ६४ ॥

चलदलाश्चन्द्रलेखा ॥ ६५ ॥ चतुर्मात्रो लघुर्द्विमात्रो लघुश्च चन्द्रलेखा। यथा—

नवचंदलेह। जिम्व मुद्ध एह ॥ ६५ ॥

पतौ मदनविलसिता ॥ ६६ ॥ पञ्चमात्रस्त्रिमात्रश्च मदनविलसिता। यथा—

मयणविलसिअम्[1]। पावववसिअम् ॥ ६६ ॥

चपौ जम्भेदिका ॥ ६७ ॥ चतुर्मात्रपञ्चमात्रौ जम्भेदिका। यथा—

सा तसु बेट्टिआ[2]। सुठु[3] जं भेट्टिआ[4] ॥ ६७ ॥

पचौ लवली ॥ ६८ ॥ पञ्चमात्रचतुर्मात्रौ लवली। यथा—

उअ वणावलिआ। फुल्लिअलवलिआ ॥ ६८ ॥

सप्त कला दलौ चामरपुरसुन्दरी ॥ ६९ ॥ आदौ सप्तकलास्ततो द्विमात्रो लघुश्चामरपुरसुन्दरी। यथा—

अमरपुरसुंदरिहिं। भड वरिअ सयंवरिहिं ॥ ६९ ॥

षचौ काञ्चनलेखा ॥ ७० ॥ षण्मात्रचतुर्मात्रौ काञ्चनलेखा। यथा—

मणिकंचणरेहिअ। सुरसुंदरि जेहिअ ॥ ७० ॥

पौ चारुः ॥ ७१ ॥ द्वौ पञ्चमात्रौ चारुः। यथा—

चारुचंपयरुई। ओअ सोहइ जुअई ॥ ७१ ॥

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[1] विलसियं NA. [2] वेड्डिआ Bom.; वेट्टिआ SA.

[3] सुट्ठु Bom.; SA. [4] भेड्डिआ Bom.

सुतवेत्यत्र। स तव श्रुतो विश्रुतः पतिः यो जयति नरपतिः ॥ ६३ ॥ करिमेत्यत्र। करिमकरभुक् ऊर्वहुतभुक् ॥ ६४ ॥ नवेत्यत्र। मुग्धा राजते इति क्रियाशेषः यथा नूतनचन्द्रलेखेव ॥ ६५ ॥ मयणेत्यत्र। मदनविलसितं पापव्यवसितम् ॥ ६६ ॥ सा तेत्यत्र। सा तस्याः बेटो (वेष्टी) सुष्ठु भेटिता यत् ॥ ६७ ॥ उअ वेत्यत्र। पश्य वनावली पुष्पितलवलिका ॥ ६८ ॥ अमरेत्यत्र। अमरपुरसुन्दरीभिः भटाः वृताः स्वयंवरे ॥ ६९ ॥ मणीत्यत्र। मणिकाञ्चनराजिता सुरसुन्दरी यथा ॥ ७० ॥ चार्वीत्यत्र।

तषताः पुष्पमाला ॥ ७२ ॥ त्रिमात्रषण्मात्रत्रिमात्राः पुष्पमाला । यथा—

एह ललिअदेह बाल । नाइ जाइफुल्लमाल ॥ ७२ ॥

तोमरमित्यन्ये । एवमन्या अपि त्रिंशन्मात्रापर्यन्ता अभ्यूह्याः । अप्रसिद्धाभिधानत्वात्तु नोक्ताः यदाह—

चतुर्मात्रादिकत्रिंशत्प्रान्तैरंह्रियुगैः पुनः ।
एकानेकैरन्तवर्णयमके द्विपदीं विदुः ॥ १ ॥

इति द्विपदीप्रकरणम् ॥

गाथात्रानुक्तम् ॥ ७३ ॥ अत्र शास्त्रे यन्नोक्तं छन्दस्तद्गाथासंज्ञम् ॥

दश धर्मं न जानन्ति धृतराष्ट्र निबोधनात् ।
मत्तः प्रमत्त उन्मत्तः क्रुद्धः श्रान्तो बुभुक्षितः ॥
त्वरमाणश्च भीरुश्च लुब्धः कामीति ते दश ॥ ७३ ॥

अत्र त्रिभिः षड्भिर्वा पादैः श्लोकः ॥

इत्याचार्यश्रीहेमचन्द्रविरचितायां स्वोपज्ञच्छन्दोऽनुशासनवृत्तौ द्विपदीव्यावर्णनो नाम सप्तमोऽध्यायः ॥[1]

[1] I am not giving Adhyaya VIII owing to want of space and also because it is not very necessary for the Prākṛta metres, even though I had first proposed to do so.

चारु युवतिः शोभते, त्वं पश्य (add चम्पकरुचिः) ॥ ७१ ॥ एहेत्यत्र । एषा ललितदेहा बाला ज्ञायते जातिपुष्पमालेव ॥ ७२ ॥

सप्तमोऽध्यायः संपूर्णः ॥

APPENDIX

I was able to secure one more manuscript of the Paryāyas through the usual kindness of Muni Shri Jinavijayaji, the present Director of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay. This MS. seems to have been copied by Devavijayagaṇi of the Tapā Gaccha during the spiritual reign of Hīravijayasūri. The MS. is of course incomplete in the sense that its last few folios are missing; but the Paryāyas of the Chandonuśāsana are finished on p. 34b. There are three more folios following this which contain an explanation of a few more Prākṛta stanzas whose source I am at present unable to find out. At the end of the Paryāyas of Ch. V, we get the following: इत्याचार्यश्रीहेमचन्द्रविरचितछन्दोनुशासने चतुर्थाध्यायस्य पर्याया: संपूर्णा लिखिता: श्रीजगद्गुरोः प्रसर्त्ते (प्रसत्तौ ?) देवविजयशिशुना। अथ पञ्चमाध्याये पर्याया लिपीक्रियन्ते। Śrī Jagadguru was the Biruda of Hīravijayasūri and Devavijayaśiśu is very likely Devavijayagaṇi who composed his Rāmacaritra in Saṁ. 1652. The MS. is very brittle and has to be handled with extreme care. I have made use of it in reconstructing the text of the Paryāyas on Chs. VI and VII. In many places it shows the same defects as my first MS., but sometimes it offers material help in arriving at the correct words and expressions used in the Paryāyas. It also supplies a few lacunæ in the first MS., though it itself shows similar lacunæ elsewhere. I have compared the published text of the Paryāyas on Chs. IV and V with this MS. and I proceed to record briefly the improvements on the published form of this text offered by it: the first figure refers to the page of my edition of the Chandonuśāsana in the last number of the Journal and second refers to the line of the Paryāyas given at the bottom of the page. I give only the improved forms and additional words, if any, sometimes with a preceding or following word or words to help the location of the improved forms.

30. 1 केलाससेलेत्यत्र।...अथवाञ्जनेयस्तेषां ; 30. 3 इवोत्प्रेक्षते ; 30. 5 चक्खुभएणत्ति... वयस्याभि: ; 30. 6 दत्तं लक्ष्यते कज्जलम् ; 31. 6 कोपि सुभट एष: ; 32. 2-3 ध्वजपटम् ; 32. 7 उद्गमति सुभग ; 33. 2 रोदितीव ; 33. 5 कर्तुमिच्छति कुशाग्रतीक्ष्णबुद्ध्या ; 33. 10 इवोत्प्रेक्षते ... तीक्ष्णं क्षुरप्रं ; 34. 2 पीता शोभते ; 34. 6 पर्वतानां राज्ञां च ; 34. 7 यशोभरभरितदिगन्त ; 34. 10 गाहाणत्ति ; 34. 11 गगनरूपे सरसि ; 35. 2 चोलुक्येत्यत्र ; 35. 4 सुरीजनोपि ; 35. 5 ओ . दामाइं इति ; 35. 6 कुसुमसमृद्धिविरहितं उद्यानं ; 35. 8 जिनक्रमरज:पवित्र: ; 35. 9 श्रीमूलराज भूपतिकुलगगनमृगाङ्क ; 36. 4 रमणत्थलाउत्ति जघनस्थलात् ; 36. 6 चरणाग्रतो ; 36. 10 प्रौढमहेलिकानां ; 37. 6 गलिअंजणेत्यत्र ; 37. 7 विलेपनार्हं कर्दमं ; 37. 9 प्रतिरवमुखरिताम्बरं ; 37. 11 पश्य हे वयस्ये ; 38. 2 मोघपदे ; 38. 7 दुद्धरवारित्ति ; 39. 1 चलविद्युद्भीषणा: ; 39. 3 पक्षे गलितानि क्वथितानि आशयानि येषां ; 39. 5 मुखगलित....सुरभितजलं ; 39. 6 हन्ति मनो गत: (Parhaps com. reads नहु हंति मणं गओ in v. 36) ; 39. 8 वा भवति सर्वेषु ; 39. 9 खेलिरकामिणीत्यत्र ; 39. 10 सरभसं क्रियमाण: कलकलशब्दविशेष: ; 39. 11 प्रतिहतकठिनदिनकरकरा यत्र, स्वार्थे के करकं ; 40. 2 करात् हे मुग्ध गलितं ; 40. 9 तदा तगणद्वयव्यवहारो ; 40. 10 न हे वयस्य ; 41. 5 अविलम्बिता: त्वरिता: ; 41. 6 अर्धोद्गतं चन्द्रबिम्बं ; 41. 7 यावत् चन्द्रिकया ; 41. 10 छिवन्निति अङ्गे लगन् ; 42. 1 कइलासतुलणेत्यत्र ; 42. 3 दशास्येन वने कानने ; 42. 6 उदधिं पश्येति संटंक: ; तथा तं तीरे ; 43. 1 शोभाविनिर्जिते लोचने यस्य ; 43. 2 अर्धादङ्गे तथा गण्डतलं ; 44. 3 दग्धदृप्तवैरिमण्डलेन ; 44. 5 मा वह विह्वलं त्वं विशृङ्खलं वा ; 44. 6

नच्चाविअत्ति ; 44. 9 उज्जागरेत्यत्र ; 45. 1 पादप्रहारात् खण्डितया ; 45. 13 हसति तदा ; 46. 2 उपकरणानि प्राप्य शीघ्रं त्रैलोक्य etc.; 46. 3 मलयाचलमारुतं पूर्णबिम्बं चन्द्रं च ; 46. 7 विहडप्फडो व्याकुले देश्य: ; 47. 1 चेद् गमिष्यसि तदा परभृत etc.; 47. 5 सुन्दरिमेति सौन्दर्यं यत्र ; काशेषु दुग्धगुणारोप इत्यर्थ: सा ; 47. 10 पञ्चमस्वरेण गीतं युक्तं ; 48. 2 चन्द्रमणिश्चन्द्रकान्तस्तस्य ; 48. 7 उअ तुब्भेत्यत्र ; 49. 5 ध्यानज्ञानवशेन ; 50. 1 अवलोकनेन ; 50. 2 निज्झाइअईत्यत्र ; 50. 3 केशाश्चको-राश्च (Possibly the com. takes चउर-चउड-चूड hair) ; 50. 7 कलिका दृष्टा ; घूर्णित: छुडु देश्य: ; 51. 4 नगरे दूरदेशे ; 51. 6 लता भिङ् निर्भरं ; 51. 7 नान्येति भाव: ; 52. 3 येषु ते च'ते ; 52. 4 परिह्लसितकेशा: स्रस्तकेशा ; 52. 8 निर्मलगुणानुरञ्जिजनो ; 52. 9 नूतनश्चासौ कोकिलरवा-कुलश्चासौ मञ्जरितश्च ; 52. 10 यत्र जिम्भन्तो देश्यो ; 52. 11-12 प्रियतमां स्मरति क्व ; . . . ओषधिं स्मरति तथेति भाव: ; 53. 3 तासामसमं यदान्दोलनं ; 53. 4 हे प्रियतम ; 53. 10 निस्यन्द: सर्वत: प्रसरणं ; 54. 3 संबन्धकृत् यत्र ; 54. 12 झडप्पझंपणे ताभ्यां कृत्वा पतन्तो ; 54. 13 लल्लक्के भीषणे ; 55. 5 कृता: बालकदल्य: ; 55. 7 गयणुप्परीत्यत्र ; न चटसि ; विकिरसि ; 55. 9 भास्वरं किं न ; 55. 11 अपरपरभृत ; 56. 1 यस्मात् सा साक्षाच्चन्द्रं द्रष्टुं ; 57. 4 देशोत्पन्नस्त्रीकेशदर्पदलने भ्रंशने लम्पट: . . . . आसक्त: एवंविधो ; 58. 3 किं न पुष्यति ; 58. 4 प्राप्नोति तथा च ; 58. 6 जातेर्जातं गुणस्मरणं यत्र ; 58. 10 इह पदयुगलं विधिवशेन विघटते स्खलतीत्यर्थ: तदा तव मध्यं उदरं अतीव क्षीणं सत् किं न क्षामोदरि त्रुट्यति । कोर्थ: । औत्सुक्यत: ; 59. 3 विकसिता ये सप्तपर्णपादपास्तै: संकुलं तटिनीपुलिनं येषु, तथा सेफालिकाप्रसूनप्रकृष्टपरिमलै: पूर्णा: प्रभातवायवो येषु, तथा कुवलयगन्धेषु ; 60. 1 चच्चरी पटह: ; 60. 4 समैरष्टदशादिभि: ; 60. 11 उच्छलितप्रचुरपिञ्जरपोतपराग: ; 61. 14 सुविषमशीर्षकाणि ; 61. 16 पारिजातानां कुसुमानि ; 62. 1 दुष्टचित्तसुराधम etc.; 62. 2 हे वीर संसारदु:खं न लभन्ते कथमपि यस्मात्ते किलेति सत्ये शीघ्रं प्रभो मोक्षं निश्चयेन यन्ति १ ॥ सुररमगोत्यत्र । हे सुर etc.; 62. 5-6 पत्थारवसेणत्ति सम्यक्पाठान्तरं ; 63. 3 कुन्दपुष्पाणि ; 63. 4 विकसितारविन्दं ; 63. 9 अनवरतं वाष्पनिपतनेन सुन्नं सशोकं ; 63. 12 बहुलकान्ति: लक्ष्यते जायते केव ; 63. 13 तहारउ इत्यत्र ; त्वदीयगतिविलास: प्रतिभासते ; 64. 3 तस्माद्युवयो: कार्यं नास्तीति भाव: ; 64. 5 असोअमञ्जरीत्यत्र ; 64. 12 कं मदोन्मत्तं गर्जन्तं ; 65. 3 पञ्चदशाक्षरायामुक्तमभविष्यन् ; 66. 2 दृष्टा कुमारसमरकेतुना ; 66. 3 कमलखण्डमिव हे ; 66. 9 प्रावृट् अनृतं वारि धरति । सापि मदवारि मद्यं धरति । प्रावृट् विह्वला etc. . . . . विह्वलेति प्रसरणशीलापि विह्वला सती न क्रामति । 66. 10 तथा प्रलुठ्यति ; 66. 12 मुकुलीभवन्ति सर्वा दिशो ; 67. 1 मत्तमधुकरो॰कलकलै: ; 67. 3-4 गायति केन मधुकरोरवेण ; 67. 7 यद्गमनं तद्वद्गमनेन ; 67. 8 गम्भीरं गर्जति ; 68. 4 एवंविधकुललक्षणा स्त्री ; 68. 8 भ्रमन्ति भटा: ; 69. 1 लडहअंगोति विलासाङ्गो ; 70. 2 स्थापितं मनो येन ; 71. 8 अटिं लातीति अटिला भ्रमणशीला: ; 71. 9 नराणां शीर्षाणि भुजार्गलाश्च ; 71. 10 या द्वारे भुअग्गला ; 72. 1 मस्तकादीनि छिद्यन्ते ; 72. 2 संतापतुलितवडवानलेन ; 72. 6 सुरसिन्धुजलसदृशी जाता ; 73. 4 हे धवल ; 74. 1 राज्ञोऽतिशयो द्योतितोऽमर etc.

THE AṄGAS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By B. C. Law

The Aṅgas were an important people of ancient India. The Atharvaveda [1] refers to them as a distant people along with the Magadhas, Mujavants, and Gandhāris without specifying their territories. From the Vrātya book of the same Veda (XV) it is evident that the Aṅgas and Magadhas were despised as Vrātyas or peoples who lived outside the pale of orthodox Brahmanism.[2] In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa,[3] they are mentioned as Aṅga-Magadhā, i.e. a duel group like the Kāśī-Kośalas, Sālva-Matsyas, etc. Pāṇini in his grammar [4] groups together Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, etc. all placed in the Midland. The Mahābhārata [5] makes the races of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma to be descendants of the saint Dīrghatamas by Sudeṣṇā, wife of king Bali. According to Zimmer and Bloomfield, the Aṅgas were settled on the rivers Sōn and Ganges in later times but their early seat was presumably there also.[6] Pargiter is inclined to regard them as a non-Aryan people that came over-sea to eastern India.[7] Ethnographically they were connected with the Kaliṅgas and other peoples of the plains of Bengal.[8] Aṅga formed one of the seven sub-divisions within the empire of Reṇu and it was allotted to a king named Dhataraṭṭha of the line of Bharata.

The Aṅgas were named after an eponymous king Aṅga.[9] According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Aṅga was so named because the cupid God, Madana, fled to this country to save himself from the wrath of Rudra and became *anaṅga* or bodiless by giving up his *aṅga* here—an amusing philological explanation of the origin of the name.[10] The Ānava kingdom, the nucleus of which was Aṅga became divided into five kingdoms said to have been named after five sons of king Bali. Pargiter points out that the Ānavas held all east Bihar, Bengal proper and Orissa comprising the kingdoms of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Kaliṅga.[11] This statement of Pargiter is not corroborated by any other reliable evidence. The princes of Aṅga were very beautiful and their dwelling place was known as Aṅga.[12] The Aṅgas occupied the territory corresponding to the district of Bhagalpur and probably including Monghyr.[13]

The capital of the Aṅgas was first called Mālinī which name was changed to Campā or Campāvatī [14] in honour of a king named Campa, Lomapāda's great grandson.[15] The city of Campā, the capital of the Videhas, was built by Mahāgovinda as the Mahāgovinda Suttanta of the Dīgha-Nikāya informs us.[16] It was here that the Buddha was compelled to prescribe the use of slippers by the Bhikkhus.[17] At the time of the Buddha, Campā was a big town and not a village.[18] It was once ruled by Aśoka's son Mahinda and his sons and grandsons of the Ikṣvāku race.[19] The Uvāsagadasāo, a Jain work,[20] points out that a temple called Caitya Puṇṇabhadda existed at Campā at the time of Sudharman,

[1] V, 22. 14. [2] For a learned note on the subject by Dr. Keith, see *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, 155f.
[3] ii, 9. [4] IV, 1. 170; II, 4, 62. [5] I, 104.
[6] Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 35; Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, 446, 449.
[7] *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 852; *Vedic Index*, I (Macdonell and Keith), p. 11.
[8] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, *Ancient India*, p. 534.
[9] Aṅga Vairocana is included in the list of anointed kings in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (viii, 22).
[10] *Rāmāyaṇa*, 47. 14. [11] *A.I.H.T.*, p. 293. [12] *Sumangalavilāsinī*, Pt. I, p. 279.
[13] B. C. Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 60.
[14] *Mahābhārata*, XII, 5. 134; XIII, 42. 2350; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 99. 105-6; *Matsya*, 48. 97; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 13, 43; *Viṣṇu*, IV, 18. 4.
[15] *Harivaṁśa*, XXXI, 1699–1700; *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparva, vv, 34-35.
[16] *Dīgha*, II, p. 235. [17] *Vinayapiṭaka*, I, pp. 179f. [18] *Dīgha*, II, p. 146.
[19] *Dīpavaṃsa*, p. 28; cf. *Vaṃsatthapakāsinī* (P.T.S.), pp. 128-129. [20] Hoernle's Ed., p. 2 notes

a disciple of Mahāvīra. This city was hallowed by the visits of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra spent three rainy seasons here.[1] It was the birth-place and the place of death of Vāsupūjya, the twelfth Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains.[2] It is said to have been the head-quarters of Candanā and her father.[3] It was a great centre of Jainism. It was visited by Prabhava and Sayambhava. It was here that Sayambhava composed the Daśavaikālika sūtra.[4] A Brahmin of Campāpurī presented to Bindusāra, king of Pāṭalīputra, a daughter named Subhadrāṅgī.[5]

Campāpurī or Campānagara or Campāmālinī is described as a place of pilgrimage in the Mahābhārata.[6] Yuan Chwang calls this city as Chanp'o. It is a sacred place of the Jains. The city of Campā is situated at a short distance from modern Bhagalpur. The river named Campā formed the boundary between Aṅga and Magadha.[7] It was surrounded by groves of Campaka trees even at the time of the Mahābhārata.[8] Buddhaghosa, a Buddhist commentator, refers to a garden near the tank called Gaggarā which was full of five kinds of Campaka flowers.[9] According to the Jaina Campakaśreṣṭhikathā, Campā was in a very flourishing condition. There were perfumers, spice-sellers, sugar-candy-sellers, jewellers, leather-tanners, garland-makers, carpenters, goldsmiths, weavers, etc.[10] It was a seat of Magadhan viceroyalty from the time of Bhattiya, father of Bimbisāra. Near Campā there was a tank dug by queen Gaggarā of Campā known as Gaggarapokkharaṇī which was famous as a halting place of the wandering ascetics and recluses, resounding with the noise of philosophical discussions (*Samayapavādakā*). In the Daśakumāracarita we find that Campā has been described as abounding in rogues.

Fā-Hien, a Chinese pilgrim, who visited India in the fifth century A.D. followed the course of the Ganges and descending eastwards for 18 yojanas he found on the southern bank the kingdom of Campā where he saw some topes.[11]

Yuan Chwang who came to India in the seventh century A.D. visited Campā which was situated on the south side of the Ganges and more than 4,000 li in circuit. He saw the monasteries mostly in ruins and there were more than 200 Hīnayāna monks in the city of Campā which was visited by the Buddha. It included Īrāṇaparvata which along with Campā supplied war elephants.[12]

According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Sugrīva sent his monkey followers in quest of Sītā to the countries lying on the east among which Aṅga was one.[13]

Aṅga was one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas of ancient India and was very rich and prosperous.[14] In the Jaina list of sixteen Mahājanapadas, too, the Aṅgas along with the Vaṅgas and Magadhas figure prominently.

There were 80,000 villages in Aṅga, which is an exaggerated traditional figure.[15] Aṅga was the country of the reputed author of (Aurava) of the Rig Veda.[16] There was a distinct local alphabet of Aṅga, according to the Lalitavistara.[17] A Brāhmaṇa youth named Kapila referred to the riches owned by the king of Aṅga.[18]

Ancient Aṅga is said to have included the hermitage of the sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Karṇagaḍ or the fort of Karṇa, Jahnu-āśrama or the hermitage of the sage Jahnu and Modāgiri or Monghyr. The Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata mentions Aṅga and Vaṅga as forming one Vishaya or kingdom (44.9). The kingdom of Aṅga was in the Buddha's time a centre

[1] S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 41.
[2] C. J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, p. 26, f.n. 5.
[3] *Indian Culture*, Vol. III.
[4] Hemchandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, Cantos IV and V.
[5] R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 8.
[6] *Vanaparva*, Ch. 85.
[7] *Jātaka*, IV. 454.
[8] *Anuśāsanaparva*, Ch. 42.
[9] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, pp. 279-280.
[10] Shah, *Jainism in North India*, p. 95.
[11] Legge, *The Travels of Fā-Hien*, p. 100.
[12] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 181-182.
[13] *Rāmāyaṇa*, 652, 22-23.
[14] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 213; IV, 252, 256; *vide* also B. C. Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 19; cf. *Mahābhārata*, 822, 46; *Mahāvastu*, II, 2; *Vinaya Texts*, *S.B.E.*, II, 146 note.
[15] *Vinayapiṭaka*, Vol. I, p. 179.
[16] X, 138; Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 132.
[17] *Lalitavistara*, pp. 125-126.
[18] Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 129.

of activities of such well-known heretical teachers as Purana-Kassapa, Mokkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambalī, Pakudhakaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta.[1]

In the kingdom of Aṅga there were many towns, such as Āpana [2] and Bhaddiyanagara where Visākhā, the daughter of Sumanādevī lived.[3] The way from Bhaddiya to Āpana lay through Anguttarāpa, obviously a lowland.[4] There was another town of the Aṅgas named Assapura which was visited by the Buddha.[5]

In the Buddha's time there were in Aṅga-Magadha several Mahāsālās or Snātaka institutions maintained on royal fiefs granted by the kings, Pasenadi and Bimbisāra. According to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta seven such colleges were founded by Mahāgovinda in seven main kingdoms of his time including Aṅga with Campā as its capital. These were all theological colleges granting admission only to the Brahmin youths (māṇavakā). The numerical strength of each of them was no less than three hundred students. The high reputation of the head of the institution attracted students from various quarters and various localities.[6]

The king of the Aṅga country was invited at the horse-sacrifice of king Daśaratha.[7] The sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, son of Bibhāṇḍaka, came to Aṅga at the invitation of Romapāda who was then the powerful king of the Aṅga country. King Romapāda received him cordially and gave his daughter Śāntā in marriage to him because the sage succeeded in removing drought from his kingdom.[8] At the request of king Romapāda of Aṅga, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga with his wife Śāntā came to Ayodhyā to perform the sacrifice of king Daśaratha who was a great friend of Romapāda.[9]

Karṇa was placed on the throne of Aṅga at the instance of his ally, Duryodhana and other Kaurava chieftains.[10] The Pāṇḍavas specially Bhīmasena banned him as lowborn (sūtaputra), whom Bhīmasena declared as no match for his brother Arjuna with the result that Karṇa became an inveterate enemy of the Pāṇḍavas.[11] At the Svayamvara ceremony of Draupadī, daughter of king Drupada of the Pañcāla-country, Karṇa was present with other Kṣatriya princes, such as Śalya of Madra and Duryodhana of Hastināpura. It was here that Arjuna won the hand of Draupadī by a wonderful feat of archery. Bhīma and Arjuna were then disguised as Brāhmaṇas. A quarrel ensued over the acquisition of Draupadī and a duel took place between Arjuna and Karṇa with the result that the latter was defeated.[12] Arjuna on his way to Maṇipura (in Assam) visited Aṅga as a pilgrim and distributed riches there.[13] Bhīmasena fought with Karṇa, king of Aṅga, and convinced him of his prowess prior to the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. He killed the king of Modāgiri (Monghyr).[14] Karṇa is said to have attended the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira at Indraprastha.[15] On the eve of the Pauṇḍarika sacrifice of Duryodhana the Aṅga country is referred to in connection with the *digvijaya* or military campaign of Karṇa.[16] Bhīṣma while lying on a bed of arrows in the battlefield of Kurukṣetra asked Karṇa to refrain from this fatricidal war as he was not the son of a charioteer as his mother was Kuntī. But Karṇa said that he had already promised to fight for Duryodhana against the Pāṇḍavas.[17] He was made the commander-in-chief of the Kaurava army by Duryodhana.[18] Arjuna went to the Aṅga country in quest of the sacrificial horse. The kings of Aṅga, Kāśī and Kośala and the Kirātas and Taṅganas were compelled to pay him homage.[19] King Jarāsandha is said to have extended his supremacy over the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Puṇḍras.[20] The Aṅgas were also defeated in a battle by

[1] *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, p. 2.
[2] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, V, pp. 225-226.
[3] *Dham. Comm.*, I, 384ff.
[4] *Vinaya*, i, 243f.; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, iii, 363.
[5] *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 281ff.
[6] *Nānādisā nānājanapadā māṇavakā āgacchanti—Dīgha*, I, 114.
[7] *Rāmāyaṇa*, 27, 25.
[8] *Ibid.*, 9th and 10th Sargas, pp. 20–22; cf. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 464 and notes.
[9] *Ibid.*, 24, 19–31.
[10] *Mahābhārata*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., p. 140, vv. 37-38.
[11] *Ibid.*, I, 25, pp. 140-141.
[12] *Ibid.*, I, 4, 178-179.
[13] *Ibid.*, 0. 195; 105. 10.
[14] *Ibid.*, V, 2, p. 242.
[15] *Ibid.*, 7, 245.
[16] *Mahābhārata*, 8-9, 513.
[17] *Ibid.*, 1–39, 993-4.
[18] *Ibid.*, 43–56, p. 1174.
[19] *Ibid.*, 4-5, p. 2093.
[20] *Ibid.*, XII, Ch. V, 6607.

Vāsudeva as we learn from the Droṇaparva of the Mahābhārata. In the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata,[1] we find Vasūpama, king of Aṅga, visiting a golden mountain called Yuñjavat on the ridge of the Himalayas.

Seṇiya Bimbisāra was the king of Aṅga-Magadha when the Buddha renounced the world and Mahāvīra became a Jina. During the reign of king Bhātiya of Magadha, his son Bimbisāra ruled Aṅga as his Viceroy.

Throughout the Jaina literature, Kuṇika Ajātaśatru is represented as a king of Aṅga but the fact is that he was only the Viceroy of Aṅga which formed part of the kingdom of Magadha.[2] The annexation of Aṅga to Magadha was a turning point in the history of Magadha. It marked the first step taken by the king of Magadha in his advance to greatness and the position of supremacy which it attained in the following centuries. The Campeyya Jātaka records a fight between the two neighbouring countries of Aṅga and Magadha. From time to time Aṅga and Magadha were engaged in battles. Once the Magadhan king was defeated and pursued by the army of Aṅga but he escaped by jumping into the river named Campā flowing between Aṅga and Magadha. Again with the help of the Nāga king he defeated the king of Aṅga, recovered his lost kingdom and conquered Aṅga as well. He became intimately associated with the Aṅga king and used to make offerings on the bank of the river Campā every year with great pomp.[3] The Vinaya Mahāvagga goes to prove that Aṅga came under Bimbisāra's sway.[4] Immediately prior to the rise of Buddhism there were four powerful monarchies in northern India each of which was enlarged by the annexation of neighbouring territories. Thus Aṅga was annexed to Magadha, Kāśī to Kośala, Bhagga to Vatsa and probably Śūrasena to Avanti.

The Soṇadaṇḍa Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya refers to the bestowal of Campā, the capital of Aṅga, as a royal fief on the Brahmin Sonadaṇḍa.[5] Magadha was brought under the sway of Aṅgarāja.[6] The Mahāgovinda suttanta informs us that Dhataraṭṭha, king of Kāśī and Aṅga, was a contemporary of Sattabhū, king of Kaliṅga, and Reṇu, king of Mithilā.[7] It is interesting to note that Aṅga and Magadha were conquered by the king of Benares.[8] Bindusāra married the daughter of a Brahmin of Campā who gave birth to a son named Aśoka.[9] Srī Harsha mentions a king of Aṅga named Dṛḍhavarman being restored to his kingdom by Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī.[10] According to the Harivaṃśa and Purāṇas, Dadhivāhana was the son and successor of Aṅga. This Dadhivāhana could not have been the same king Dadhivāhana who is represented by the Jainas as a contemporary of Mahāvīra and a weak rival of king Śatānika of Kauśāmbī.[11] From the Hāthigumphā inscription we learn that after the defeat of king Bahasatimita, king Khāravela of Kaliṅga carried back to his capital the riches collected from Aṅga-Magadha.[12]

A copper-plate inscription of Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla, was issued from his camp of victory at Monghyr. It indicates that Monghyr (Modāgiri or Mudgagiri) was included in the kingdom of Devapāla. According to the Sarnath Inscription of Kumāradevī, Queen of Kanauj, her maternal grandfather Mohana was a Viceroy at Aṅga under king Rāmapāla.[13]

The Pali Buddhist literature gives us some information about the religion of the Aṅgas. A bhikkhu named Kassapagotta was excommunicated by some of the bhikkhus for not being able to supply food to the stranger monks. He went to the Buddha who was at Campā and related the matter to him. The Buddha said that their act of excommunica-

[1] CXXII, 4469–75.
[2] Cf. Hemchandra's *Sthavīrāvalicarita*, *Bhagavatī sūtra* and *Nirayāvali sūtra*.
[3] *Jātaka*, Fausböll, IV, 454-5.
[4] *S.B.E.*, XVII, p. 1.
[5] *Dīgha*, I, pp. 111ff.
[6] *Jātaka*, VI, p. 272.
[7] *Dīgha*, II, 220ff.
[8] *Jātaka*, Fausböll, V, 316.
[9] *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 369-370.
[10] *Priyadarśikā*, Act IV.
[11] *J.A.S.B.*, 1914, 320f.
[12] Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 272-273.
[13] *E.I.*, IX, p. 311.

tion was illegal.[1] The bhikkhus of Campā were in the habit of performing some acts which were contrary to the rules of Vinaya.[2] Soṇa Koḷivisa, a son of a banker of Campā, was converted by the Buddha by listening to *dhamma* preached by him.[3] Sonadaṇḍa, a brahmin, became a devotee of the Buddha. He was a great influential teacher of Campā.[4] Sāriputta delivered the Dasuttara Suttanta to the bhikkhus in the presence of the Buddha while the Master was dwelling in a vihāra on the bank of the tank Gaggarā at Campā.[5] The Buddha while among the Aṅgas preached the Mahā-assapurasuttanta to the bhikkhus.[6] On another occasion he preached the Culla-assapura Suttanta to them while at Aṅga.[7] Vaṅgīsa (Vāgīśa),[8] a famous disciple of the Buddha and an improviser of verses, uttered a stanza in praise of the Master while he was dwelling in a *vihāra* at Campā (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, I, pp. 195-96). The Blessed One while at Campā delivered a sermon to his devotees on charity (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV, pp. 59ff.). The Buddha also delivered discourses on *dhamma*, *vedanā*, *rūpa*, etc., while at Campā (*Aṅguttara N.*, V, pp. 151-52). The Theragāthā, a book of the Pali Canon, records incidents in the life of Soṇa (Theragāthā, p. 65), Jambugāmika (Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 32-33) and Nandaka (*Ibid.*, 134-35) of Aṅga and Campā, who attained saintship. The Therīgāthā narrates that a Jain bhikkhunī named Bhaddā took ordination in the Buddhasāsana and in course of her journey went to Aṅga and became a Therī (*Therīgāthā*, p. 134).

Many sons of householders of Aṅga and Magadha followed the Buddha in course of his journey from Rājagaha to Kapilavatthu (Jātaka, I, Nidānakathā, p. 87). The chaplain of king Mahākosala, father of Pasenadi, named Aggidatta, gave up his household life and with him many people gave up their household life and became his disciples. He used to live with them in the Aṅga country. He instructed his disciples to get rid of their thought of sensual pleasures (*Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. III, 241ff.).

The people of Aṅga and Magadha were under the impression that Jambuka, an Ājīvika, made the Buddha a bhikkhu, seeing him seated by the side of the Buddha in the garb of a bhikkhu. The Ājīvika afterwards worshipped the Buddha and declared himself to be his disciple (*Dhammapada Commentary*, II, 61-62). It is interesting to note that Bimbisāra was converted with many Brahmin householders of Aṅga and Magadha (*Petavatthu Commentary*, p. 22). A wanderer named Sakuladāyī informed the Buddha that in the past Aṅga and Magadha were seething with sophistic activities (*Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 1-22). Visākhā was converted by the Buddha while dwelling in the kingdom of Aṅga. She succeeded in helping her father-in-law to obtain the fruition of the first stage of sanctification (*Dhammapada Commentary*, I, 384ff.). All the available evidence points to the fact that within the first decade of Buddha's enlightenment, Buddhist headquarters were established in various localities adjoining many important towns including Campā. At every one of these places sprang up a community of Bhikkhus under the leadership and guidance of a famous disciple of the Buddha.[9]

The inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha evinced a keen interest in the annual sacrifice performed by the Jaṭilas of the Gayā region under the leadership of Uruvela Kassapa, and observed it as a holiday.[10]

The sale of wives and children and the abandonment of the afflicted were prevalent among the Aṅgas.[11] It is interesting to note that in Buddha's time the people of Aṅga and Magadha used to make themselves merry by partaking of fish, meat and wine just on the border of the two kingdoms.[12] There was a custom house (śulka-sālā) between Campā and Rājagṛha[13] for the realization of taxes from the public.

1 *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, pp. 312–15.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 315 ff.
3 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 179 foll.
4 *Dīgha*, I, pp. 111–126.
5 *Ibid.*, III, p. 272.
6 *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 271 foll.
7 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 281ff.
8 Apadāna, II, 462, verse 38.
9 B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, p. 45.
10 *Vinaya*, i, pp. 27 foll.
11 *Mahābhārata*, viii, 45, 14–16; 28, 34.
12 *Jātaka* (Fausböll), II, p. 211.
13 *Divyāvadāna*, p. 275.

YAMA AND YAMĪ [1]

By V. A. Gadgil

Many theories about Yama and his rôle in Vedic literature have been propounded by European scholars. None of them, however, appears to be satisfactory as all these theories tend to explain only partially some of the characteristics that are attributed to him and thus fail to account for all the main traits and functions of Yama. Roth's point of view that he was originally conceived as a man does not explain his relation with Manu, the first man and the first sacrificer (cf. RV. X, 63, 7). Are we justified in maintaining that they are identical? Strong evidence in support of this identity is lacking; for Manu as said above is the first sacrificer whose sacrifice is a prototype for all succeeding sacrifices (cf. RV. I, 44, 11), whereas Yama is never so described. On the other hand Yama is invariably described as the Lord of the blessed dead (cf. RV. IX, 113, 8; X, 14, 1; 16, 9). As regards Hillebrandt's view that Yama may be said to represent the moon, one fails to understand how like Yama she can be called the mythical first father of mankind and the first of those that died; besides Yamī speaks of Yama in the well-known dialogue hymn (cf. RV. X, 10, 3) as the only mortal. How the moon can be so called remains unexplained. Again at RV., X, 13, 4 he is said to have chosen death and abandoned his body. Traits like these can hardly be attributed to the moon. All other theories about Yama's rôle are still more unsatisfactory and will be found on closer examination as unacceptable as they are inapplicable to his entire sphere of activity. One more attempt is, therefore, made in the following pages to subject the chief traits of Yama to a critical analysis with a view to find out, if possible, either that particular aspect of nature or that particular concept in ethical sphere which offers a satisfactory explanation of his rôle.

The following traits of Yama appear to deserve our best consideration. As pointed out above he is the Lord of departed souls. He and Varuṇa are the two kings whom a departed soul sees on reaching heaven (cf. RV. X, 14, 7). He is very closely associated with the Pitṛs (cf. RV. X, 14, 3-5) and gives a dead man his resting place (cf. RV. X, 14, 9; AV. 18, 2, 37). He found out the path by which the ancient fathers passed away (cf. RV. X, 14, 1 and 2). In the dialogue hymn (cf. RV. X, 10) his sister Yamī tries her level best to tempt him without any success. His father is Vivasvān (cf. RV. X, 14, 5) and his mother is Śaraṇyū (cf. RV. X, 17, 1). He has his foot-fetter (i.e. *paḍbīśa*) just like the *pāśa* of Varuṇa (cf. RV. X, 97, 16). His messengers are two dogs, sons of Saramā, who guard the paths along which the dead man goes (cf. RV. X, 14, 10–12). In fact they watch the movements of mortals just like spies. In view of these traits, it may safely be assumed that Yama like most of the Vedic gods most probably represents some aspect of natural phenomena. Whether it is the physical aspect of nature or some moral or ethical aspect is to be ascertained by the nature of activities attributed to him and his associations with a particular god or gods. It is quite certain that his sphere of activity is mainly concerned with the condition of a mortal after his death. Unlike Indra with whom he is hardly associated in Vedic literature, his traits make it abundantly clear that he is not the guardian or protector of man in this worldly life but he is rather his chief custodian in the other world which is the spiritual world and counter-part of the physical world. The gods with whom he is conspicuously associated are Varuṇa and Agni. It is already pointed out above that the only gods whom a departed soul sees after his death are Varuṇa and Yama. Moreover the latter has his fetters just like the bonds of Varuṇa.

[1] Read at the XIIth All-India Oriental Conference, Benares.

His association with Agni is, however, of a peculiar type; for, at RV. X, 21, 5 Agni is called the beloved friend of Yama (cf. *priyo yamasya kāmyo*). At RV. X, 52, 3 a question is raised as to whether Agni is the priest of Yama in so far as he carries the oblations to the abode of Yama where the Pitṛs are supposed to have their sojourn. Again at RV. X, 51, 3 Yama is said to have found out Agni who was hidden. It is needless to point out in this connection that Varuṇa's sphere of activity lies always in the moral world or order. Agni, however, is concerned with moral as well as physical aspects of nature as he is the carrier of oblations to all the gods. But in this particular case, namely, his relation with Yama, he becomes his friend because he is the conductor of the dead towards Yama's place and he becomes his priest just as he is the priest of all other gods. This second type of relationship is too general to need any comment. The first type of relationship, on the other hand, will serve as a very useful factor in the process of elimination that one has got to adopt in narrowing down the scope of our inquiry with a view to confine Yama's sphere of action to a particular type of phenomenon and thus to concentrate our attention on that type only. It is generally assumed without any contradiction that Vedic ideas about life after death are specially connected with the rite of cremation (cf. Macdonell VM., page 165). At RV. X, 16, 1 and 4 Agni is said to have made a dead man ready or matured him, so to say, for the purpose of sending him to Yama. The expression *asunīti* in the 2nd ṛk of the same hymn seems to indicate the transformation of the gross material body into a spiritual body after the act of cremation is over. Agni, therefore, helps a dead man in divesting himself of the material body of a lower nature and in getting instead a spiritual one of a higher nature. Every body before entering Yama's abode must attain a spiritual existence. This transition of the body from a grosser stage into a subtler stage is necessarily a matter pertaining to the moral sphere as the existence of a spiritual state is always to be governed by the moral or ethical laws and not by the laws of physical nature. From all these facts the most probable conclusion that can justifiably be drawn is that Yama does not seem to represent any physical aspect of nature. Naturally, therefore, his sphere of action must necessarily lie in the moral world. This assumption finds ample support in the fact that he is associated with Varuṇa and hardly with Indra, the representative of the highest physical aspect of nature, i.e. *Tejas* (cf. my paper on Indra read at the Eleventh Oriental Conference, Hyderabad).

The possibility of Yama's representation of any physical aspect of nature being thus eliminated we may turn our attention to the moral sphere which in all probability may afford a better chance for the solution of our problem. What is required is the discovery of that supreme principle in the life of the Vedic Āryans which would correspond in all respects with the traits of Yama. In all references to his activities in Vedic as well as post-Vedic literature the chief trait that stands out more prominently than any other in his character is the fact that he is the Lord of the departed souls; nay, he is in fact the sole controller of their destiny. At this stage of our investigation it is absolutely necessary to pass under review the ideas that the Vedic Āryans entertained regarding their life in general and especially their life after death. Vedic Āryans seem to believe just like the Āryans of later days in the imperishable nature of the soul even after the destruction of the gross material body in a fire or a grave. In the well-known hymn (cf. RV. X, 58) addressed to the spirit, the departed soul (i.e. *manas*) is supposed to wander about towards all the gross elements in all directions. The existence of an imperishable soul or spirit is further borne out by the following Vedic passages. Agni places the mortal in the highest immortality (cf. RV. I, 31, 7) after refining the gross body by his purifying power and rendering it fit for the higher world (cf. RV. X, 16, 2 and 6). Again at RV. VIII, 89, 5 the soul or spirit is regarded as dwelling in the heart. This belief in the existence of the immortal spirit naturally raises a question with regard to the abode of the spirit after departing from this world. Where do these spirits find a resting place? Who assigns this abode or rather decides the nature of the resting place? Almost all the Vedic passages bearing on this topic refer to a higher world, that is, the world of the Pitṛs or of the Gods, as the resting

place that is generally desired by the Vedic Āryans. For instance, it is said that Agni conducts the dead to the place of the righteous (cf. *sukṛtām lokaḥ* at RV. X, 16, 4; AV. 6, 120, 1; 18, 3, 71). The ancient blessed Pitṛs were supposed to have attained the third heaven which was also the abode of the pious mortals after their death (cf. RV. IX, 113, 7–9; X, 14, 8; 15, 3). Does this mean that all the Pitṛs attain the same state after their death? The answer to this question seems to be definitely in the negative; for even among the Pitṛs there are different grades which are generally speaking three in number, namely, the lowest, the mid-most and the highest (cf. RV. X, 15, 1). Again at RV. X, 15, 2 and at AV. 18, 2, 49 the Pitṛs are described as inhabiting the earth, the air and the heaven. The highest heaven is also the abode of those who practise *tapas* and of those who sacrifice their lives on the battlefield and of those who offer liberal sacrificial gifts (*Dakṣiṇā*, cf. RV. I, 125, 5; X, 107, 2; 154, 2–5). In contrast to this highest abode of the Pitṛs there is the abysmal place or station, i.e. *gabhīram padam*, reserved for the sinful people, i.e. *pāpāsaḥ* (cf. RV. IV, 5, 5). This abysmal abode of the wicked is also referred to at RV. VII, 104, 3 and 17 (cf. *vavre anārambhaṇe tamasi, vavrān anantān, etc.*). The conclusion that is forced upon the mind of an unbiassed student of Vedic literature as a result of his critical study of these passages is that the departed souls do not attain the same place or position as a matter of course, but their position varies in proportion to the higher or lower standard of their merit and demerit during their life-time. This conclusion will have a far-reaching effect when it is considered more closely in its relation to the other question raised above regarding the agent who is primarily responsible for assigning their different stations in life after death. Well, it is Yama as we have already suggested above who gives the dead person his abode endowed with days, waters and rays of light (cf. RV. X, 14, 9). Again it is Yama who first found out a place for mortals, and men born on earth follow their own paths that take them where our ancient fathers have departed (cf. RV. X, 14, 2). The spirit of the departed is asked to go along the ancient paths along which our old fathers have gone (cf. RV. X, 14, 7). Further the spirit is asked to meet Yama, the fathers and his merit (*iṣṭāpūrta*) and to give up evil with a view to seek a finer dwelling and a body (cf. RV. X, 14, 8). Another noteworthy suggestion that emerges out of this evidence is a reference to different paths followed by the departed souls.

There are many Vedic passages which make a clear allusion to the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāna. For instance, the latter is distinctly referred to at RV. X, 2, 7. Similarly at RV. X, 18, 1 the Devayāna as distinct from the Pitṛyāna is mentioned; and again at RV. X, 88, 15 the two paths are distinctly and clearly stated. In this connection it is urged by some scholars that these two paths are not necessarily to be identified with the two paths, mentioned by these names in Upaniṣadic and later literature, which the departed souls were supposed to follow in accordance with the nature of their merit. The passages cited above from the Ṛgveda do not, indeed, clearly say of these two paths that they are to be followed by the departed souls; the passages simply make a general reference to them, pointing out at the same time their distinction. This contention does not, however, seem to be based on valid grounds in view of the fact that the ancient Pitṛs like the Bhṛgus and the Aṅgirasas actually attained the position of Gods. For instance, at RV. X, 92, 10 the Bhṛgus are esteemed as Gods and by the help of sacrifices the Aṅgirasas also attained immortality and friendship with Indra who is said to be the chiefest of the Aṅgirasas (cf. RV. I, 100, 4; II, 11, 20; X, 62, 1). From these references it clearly follows that these two ancient Pitṛs must have followed the Devayāna path which leads to the world of Gods, while of course the other Pitṛs not mentioned along with these as Gods must have reached the Pitṛ-loka by following the Pitṛyāna path. The fact, therefore, remains that in connection with the Pitṛs and the Gods and the departed souls a clear statement in unequivocal language concerning the two paths of the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāna is found in these Vedic passages. The only obvious inference that one can legitimately draw from such Vedic passages is that we have here all the elements that

must have paved the way for the full-fledged doctrine of the transmigration of the soul in later literature. Just as it is idle to say that there was no knowledge of Yoga philosophy or of Adhyātma philosophy among the Vedic Seers before the so-called full-fledged systems of philosophy were precisely worked out later in greater detail, exactly the same can be said about the doctrine of transmigration. Of course we have no clear statement of that doctrine as such in the Ṛgveda but the cumulative force of Vedic evidence, which is more or less circumstantial, is so strong that one cannot resist the impression that the Vedic Seers had a clear notion about life after death, which roughly corresponds with the later ideas about it that obtain in the Upaniṣads. In this context two noteworthy Vedic passages are cited below as an additional proof in support of the view urged above. The first passage in question is found at RV. X, 16, 3 where the departed soul is asked to choose his abode on Earth or in Heaven, either among waters or plants in accordance with his merit (cf. *dharmaṇā*) if it be his destiny or lot (cf. *hitam*). In this passage the expressions *dharmaṇā* and also *hitam* unmistakably refer to the belief that the position of the departed souls, in so far as their new habitation and body are concerned, is determined by their good or bad actions in this life. It is because of this belief that they are supposed to choose different paths as already shown above. There seems to be, therefore, ample justification for assuming that the later doctrine of *Karma*, at least in its essential form, is most probably implied in these utterances of the Vedic poets, even though it is neither expressly stated nor discussed as such by them. This view is further corroborated by the second passage, namely, Ṛgveda, VII, 33, 12 where Vasiṣṭha was supposed to wear the vesture (*paridhi*) spun by Yama (*yamena tatam*) when he was born. Here it is very important as well as necessary to note the full implications of these two Vedic passages taken together. The first passage cited above states the Law of *Karma* in a general form while the second passage occurring in connection with Vasiṣṭha's birth explicitly states the application of that law or belief to the particular case of Vasiṣṭha. Nay, it goes even a step further when it refers to Yama instead of Dharma or Karman. The expression *paridhi* in the second passage cited above is very significant as it refers by *Lakṣaṇā* to the body that Vasiṣṭha assumed at the time of his birth. It may be noted that the derivation of the word *paridhi* also supports this implication. Even if the word be figuratively interpreted to mean the web of *Saṁsāra*, i.e. the worldly existence as some scholars have done, the line in the passage still retains its importance from our point of view. The remaining part of the statement is still more significant. The *paridhi* of Vasiṣṭha, i.e. his body, was spun or prepared for him by Yama. The exact import of this statement will not be quite clear unless the law of *Karma* is brought to bear upon it.

Let us now turn our attention to the main issue under consideration, namely, Yama's rôle. It has been clearly shown above that he does not seem to represent any physical aspect of nature. The other alternative left for our consideration is the moral sphere. Now the fact that the only two gods among Vedic gods whom the departed soul meets are Varuṇa and Yama is calculated to point out the identity of Yama with some important ethical aspect. From the brief discussion that we had about the ideas of Vedic Āryans regarding life after death, it must have been abundantly clear—of course to an unbiassed reader—that they firmly believed in the efficacy of their acts in so far as they have a bearing on the life of man here and hereafter. We have discussed the Law of *Karma*, especially its very important aspect, namely, *Ṛta*, in a paper contributed to the Oriental Conference held at Tirupati and have definitely come to the conclusion that *Ṛta* stands for the sacrifice or the institution of the sacrifice which was a sort of Universal Law to the Vedic Āryans. That the same Law of *Karma* in some form or other has been governing the life of Vedic as well as post-Vedic Āryans will have to be admitted in spite of the individual opinions of some scholars who would always prefer to believe to the contrary. In the entire range of Sanskrit literature from the Vedas downwards one cannot fail to observe the fact that the beliefs and actions of Vedic as well as post-Vedic Āryans have always been in conformity with the Law of *Karma* which is very well illustrated by the

Yathākratunyāya in the Upaniṣadic times. This fact so well established lays a clear obligation on those who disbelieve it to disprove it by stronger evidence which, we venture to say, is practically lacking in this respect. Suffice it to say, however, for our purpose that the Vedic Āryans always believed in the binding force of their acts, whether good or bad, which were the deciding factor as regards their future life after death and earnestly hoped for a higher life in the next world as the reward for their meritorious actions in this life. In the light of this belief it is now possible to find out the most important ethical aspect or principle underlying Yama's sphere of activity.

Vedic eschatology has assigned to Yama the highest position as the controller of the destiny of all beings. On the other hand, according to the Law of *Karma* as conceived by the Vedic Āryans, the actions of man have a binding force on his life and as such they control his destiny, being primarily responsible for his higher or lower status in his life after death. Herein lies a solution of our problem. Yama, therefore, should appropriately represent this supreme moral principle, namely, the accumulated result of actions of man. For it is man's *Karman* (i.e. Yama) that ultimately decides what position he would occupy in his next life. The derivation of the word *Yama* also lends its support to this identity of Yama with *Karmasañcaya*. There is no other ethical principle which yields greater influence of paramount importance on the life of the Indo-Āryan race. In fact it has been the corner stone of the structure of Hindu society throughout its long and eventful history ranging over thousands of years. The above-mentioned facts will clearly show that Yama seems to be the only God in the Vedic pantheon that can in all probability correspond in almost all respects with *Karman* or *Karmasañcaya* in view of his traits so critically examined. The noteworthy passage from Mandala VII which speaks of Vasiṣṭha's birth describes him as wearing or stretching the web, i.e. the mortal body (*Paridhi*) spun or extended by Yama. Scholars need hardly be reminded of the most important rôle that *Karman* plays in our worldly existence as the inter-dependence of *Karman* and *Śarīra* is a cardinal principle underlying all the activities of all beings according to the Āryan point of view. This passage, therefore, affords one more piece of evidence in support of the view that Yama represents the *Karmasañcaya* of man which ultimately decides his course of life.

Yama's identity with the *Karmasañcaya* of man being thus suggested, our chief concern would be to show, in support of this identity, how and why his chief traits can with equal force and cogency be attributed to the *Karmasañcaya* of man. The most prominent among his traits is his lordship over all the departed souls. It has already been shown above that this trait can be aptly attributed to the *Karmasañcaya* also. It is easy to aticipate here an obvious objection arising out of this aspect. How can the Law of *Karman*, which operates not only in the next life after death but in this life also, be equated with Yama who is concerned only with the life after death? It may be pointed out that the lack of proper understanding of the Law of *Karman* is mostly responsible for this objection. It is quite an ordinary fact of common experience that the controller or the supervisor does not interfere while the agent is proceeding with his appointed task and that the process of stock-taking involving appreciation of the work done by the agent and granting him a reward in respect thereof starts only after the completion of the appointed task. This analogy when applied to the point at issue will in all probability meet the objection raised above. Man is generally proceeding with a particular type of life as a result of his *Karman* in his previous birth or births and while his earthly existence is thus going on, the process of stock-taking on the part of the Law of *Karman* would not take place. It is only after his death, i.e. the completion of his mission here in this world that a sort of judgment will be pronounced on the success or failure of his mission. In short the extent and the nature of his *Karmasañcaya* which was in a changing condition during his earthly life would then assume a definite form and determine the complexion of his next life. It is in this sense that his *Karmasañcaya* being the controller of his destiny will come into operation after his death. In the

light of this explanation it will now be clear how and why Yama whose sphere of activity lies in the life after death is thus to be equated with the *Karmasañcaya* of man in accordance with the Law of *Karma*. His association with Varuṇa, the Lord of the moral sphere, can thus be understood in its proper perspective, since *Ṛta*, i.e. the Institution of Sacrifice, being a very important aspect of *Karman* and functioning under the guardianship of Varuṇa, is also very closely connected with Yama.

Some Vedic passages speak of Yama as the first mortal who chose his death and abandoned his body (cf. RV. X, 10, 3; 13, 4). There is a deep underlying meaning suggested by these references. What is meant by Yama's association for a short while with a mortal body and then his transformation or transition from a grosser form into an immortal form can best be explained by the fact that he as the representative of the *Karmasañcaya* of every mortal takes an immortal form, i.e. the *Karman* which is in other words the essence of man; for the *Karman* always springs from a mortal body which in turn gives rise to it. It is the inter-dependence of these two essential constituents of man that is ultimately implied by these Vedic passages. Still another account makes *Vivasvān* his father (cf. RV. X, 14, 5) and *Saraṇyū* his mother (cf. RV. X, 17, 1 and 2). Who are *Vivasvān* and *Saraṇyū*, the parents of Yama? The root $\sqrt{\text{vas}}$ to shine helps us in spotting the Sun as *Vivasvān*; besides generally the Sun is so understood by the term Vivasvān. Identification of *Saraṇyū*, however, presents a difficult proposition. But a careful and critical analysis of astronomical facts is calculated to disclose the secret. It is needless to point out that the origin of man and all other beings is ultimately to be traced to the inter-relation of the Sun and the Earth. Moreover scientific research has shown that the existence of man is rendered possible only on the Earth and on no other planet. The inter-action of the light of the Sun and the Earth resulting in their effective combination makes human life a possibility. Further it is to be remembered that the *Karman* and the mortal body are inter-dependent as shown above. The Sun and the Earth, therefore, can be said to be the root cause of man and his *Karman*. As regards *Saraṇyū* its derivation from $\sqrt{\text{sṛ}}$ meaning ' to move on ' seems to suggest that she may appropriately be identified with the Earth inasmuch as the latter moves towards the Sun or is attracted by him who is her Lord. The light of the sun seems to serve the purpose of *bīja* and the Earth naturally stands for *Kṣetra* as far as earthly life is concerned. The two together thus play the rôle of parents of all earthly beings including man. In view of this fact and the invariable concomitance between man and his *Karman*, the Sun and the Earth can aptly be called the parents of Yama, the first mortal who represents in fact the *Karmasañcaya* of man.

After this discussion about the origin of Yama, his rôle and his parentage, another relevant topic that awaits our consideration is in connection with his messengers, namely, the two dogs, sons of *Saramā*, who guard the path along which the departed soul goes (cf. RV. X, 14, 10–12). In view of their activities mentioned at RV. VII, 55, 2–5 they appear to guard the path of the dead from intruders such as wicked spirits and allow the pious souls only to proceed along the path that may take them to a higher world. Naturally the wicked and evil-minded spirits of the dead being excluded from this path are doomed to fall to the abysmal depth which is already mentioned above (cf. RV. IV, 5, 5; VII, 104, 3 and 17). It is thus clear that Yama's dogs are concerned with the paths of the pious departed souls. Our interest now lies in discovering those elements or factors in the Law of *Karma* which would correspond to the two dogs of Yama in point of their functions. In the discussion about the Pitṛs it has been already shown that all the pious Pitṛs do not necessarily attain the same status as there are different grades of their elevation due to the higher or lower standard of their merit. Turning to the Law of *Karma* one can easily discern three types of qualities which serve as the criteria for measuring the worth of man. These three types are *Sattvam*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. The preponderance of the last type in man throws him down into the lowest possible position whereas the pre-

ponderance of *Rajas* in him is the cause of his elevation to a higher stage in the other world and that of *Sattvam* at once entitles him to the highest stage of elevation. Yama's two dogs, as we have just seen, do not allow the evil-minded spirits of the dead, i.e. *Tāmasāḥ* to take up the paths that are reserved only for the pious souls. This fact is now likely to help us in finding out the two much needed elements corresponding to the two dogs of Yama; naturally they are certainly none else but the *Sattvam* and the *Rajas* which are in all probability represented by the two watchful messengers, i.e. dogs of Yama. The question why the *Tamas* is not represented by a third dog does not arise as the functions of the two alone are enough to preclude the necessity for a third messenger or dog. Of the two dogs one is described as *Śabala* and the other as *Śyāma* (cf. AV. 8, 1, 9). Most probably the dog representing *Rajas* may be called *Śabala* while the other representing *Sattvam* should be called *Śyāma* (cf. the complexion of Lord Krisṇa, a sign of the preponderance of *Sattvaguṇa* in him). *Saramā*, the mother of these dogs, can naturally then be the Prakṛti, the primordial matter.

After considering these more or less constituent elements in the myth of Yama we are now confronted with a very puzzling situation presented by the dialogue of Yama and Yamī (cf. RV. X, 10). The solution of this riddle has considerably exercised the minds of many a scholar without any tangible result. Their inability to grasp the underlying idea in the dialogue in question has landed them into a very miserable position with the result that they have found nothing better than the existence of incest among Indo-Āryans. It must be pointed out here that the dialogue is purely allegorical, having no relation whatsoever to the existence of incest among Indo-Āryans at any period of time. The dialogue presupposes only a sort of natural attraction of a person of one sex for a person of the opposite sex—a corollary of the patent law of nature whereby the positive element attracts the negative element. Beyond this implication there is nothing in the dialogue that can justifiably warrant the existence of incest among the Vedic Āryans. For a proper perspective of the rôle of Yamī we have again to turn our attention to the Law of *Karma* and consider it in all its relevant aspects. The very intimate and invariable relation of *Karman* with *Śarīra* has been already noticed in connection with the rôle of Yama, and this fact is calculated to throw a much needed light on the relation of Yama and Yamī who are supposed to be twins. Of these twins it is Yamī who has a touch of earthliness in her and who therefore tries to tempt Yama, the sole mortal as she conceives him to be. Apparently the pair of Yama and Yamī would correspond to the pair of *Karman* and *Śarīra* resulting in the identity of Yama with *Karman* on the one hand and that of Yamī with *Śarīra* on the other. A closer examination of the Law of *Karma* will, however, at once reveal a flaw in one respect, namely, the identity of Yamī with *Śarīra*; for the latter is a product due to the operation of man's *Karman*. The process can be precisely stated as something like the following. A living body is a combination or an embodiment of the soul and the five elements known as the *Pañca mahābhūtāni* brought into being by the Law of *Karman*. The process clearly involves the combined operation of the three factors which ultimately constitute the *Śarīra*, i.e. a living body. Of these three the *Karman* or *Karmasañcaya* of man is the governing factor that brings together the other two, namely, the *Jīva* and the *Pañca mahābhūtāni* in their subtle forms. It is in this sense then that *Karman* and *Śarīra* are generally said to be inter-dependent. But what is primarily related to *Karman* in the first instance is the combined essence of the five elements in their subtle forms. Without the combination of these five constituent elements (*Pañca mahābhūtāni*) no body can be produced and the tendency towards producing the *Śarīra* is inherent in the combined essence of the five elements. This combined essence of matter can well be called the material cause or the *Upādāna Kāraṇa* of the *Śarīra* and the soul supplies the substratum. The *Karman* of man then comes in as the governing factor which decides the nature and the form of the *Śarīra*.

In the light of this exhaustive discussion about the Law of *Karma* and its operation, the entire phenomenon underlying the myth of Yama and Yamī will be unfolded so that a careful observer trying to probe into the mystery surrounding the phantom of an animate life will clearly discern the respective rôles of Yama and Yamī. If then Yama stands for the *Karmasañcaya* of man Yamī would naturally represent the concentrated essence made up of the combination of the five elements. This concentrated essence of matter, i.e. Yamī has a natural tendency for production and that is why she approaches Yama, the first mortal, mistaking him for her Lord and tries to tempt him. But the latter reminds the former of their sacred relation of a brother and a sister in so far as the *Karman* and the essence of the five elements are as it were twins. He further advises her in the capacity of her brother to choose another mortal as her Lord (cf. RV. X, 10, 10). Who then is this Lord that Yamī is asked to choose? He is no other than the *Jīva* or the soul as he being influenced by his *Karmasañcaya* falls an easy victim to the charms of Yamī and their romance ends in the production of a living body. Thus the ball of creation is once for all set rolling under the governing influence of Yama, the inexorable law of *Karmasañcaya* of man.

From this investigation about the mutual relations subsisting between the soul, his *Karman*, the *Pañca mahābhūtāni* and the *Śarīra*, one fact that clearly emerges is that a living body marks the last stage in the creation of earthly beings. Now Yamī is one of the originators of the human race and it is she who is seeking her partner for the propagation of this race. It will be, therefore, very improper to assume that she represents the *Śarīra* which is a *Kārya*; on the other hand, the conclusion that she should rather represent the material cause of this creation is more than justified by facts established on logical grounds. That is why it has been shown above that the identification of Yamī with the *Śarīra* is unnatural and that her identity with the essence of the five elements instead is amply corroborated by the sequence of events in the process of creation.

In the course of our discussion about the myth of Yama, one interesting point suggests itself to us and it is about his peculiar association with the *Aṅgirasas*. At RV. X, 14, 3–5 he is invoked along with the Aṅgirasas and other *Pitṛs*. But why among all the Pitṛs the Aṅgirasas alone are specifically named as his intimate associates remains unexplained. It has already been shown by us in the paper on *Ṛta* that among the Pitṛs the Aṅgirasas had the unique distinction of finding out the path leading to heaven and it is they who founded the cult of Sacrifice, discovering at the same time the great potential power latent in the Sacrifice, the most important aspect of the Law of *Karma*. Here then lies a probable explanation of Yama's peculiar association with the Aṅgirasas; for he as the representative of *Karman* is naturally drawn closer to them who played such a prominent part in discovering the hidden power latent in the Law of *Karma*.

DEVADATTA AND HIS LIFE

By B. G. Gokhale

Devadatta, the Buddha's cousin and rival, is a much maligned figure both in the contemporary accounts and the annals of the Pāli commentators. We find that the later the date of the writer the more venomously is he attacked, until in the latest—the Tibetan—version he is called the "brother of the Evil One". In the orthodox Pāli accounts the Buddha and Devadatta symbolize all that is noble and pernicious in human nature respectively. The Good and the Bad often come into bitter conflict with each other, the former invariably overpowering the latter.[1] In many a Jātaka story Devadatta is held up to ridicule and censure by making him play the rôle of a stupid obstructionist finally coming to rack and ruin by directly opposing the Master. All these accounts which excel in pointing out that Devadatta was an intrinsically wicked and an abominable person strike one, on a careful perusal, as biased, if not openly propagandist. No attempt is made in this article to defend the "Evil genius" of Buddhism, but an effort has been made to present a balanced portrait of a man who was historically well-known and apparently serious in his controversies.

Like many other major disciples of the Buddha little that is authentic is known about Devadatta. All accounts agree in the enumeration of facts like his relationship to the Buddha, his acceptance of monastic life, his efforts at schism, his attempts on the Buddha's life and the peculiar manner of his death. The little details, which, though minor in nature, change the contour of a visage considerably, are varied in different accounts. First, we shall try to recapitulate his early life and then pass on to an examination of his activities which brought him so much odium and reduced him to the state of a social outcaste.

The scene of Devadatta's early life seems to be the Malla country.[2] A Jātaka story says that he came from a family which had directly descended from the famous Ikshvāku stock.[3] According to Spence Hardy's [4] authority he was the son of Suppabuddha,[5] his mother being the sister of Suddhodana, while according to Rockhill [6] he was the son of Amṛtodana. From his very childhood he was a proud and haughty Śākya with a sense of deep-rooted envy and jealousy against his cousin, an evidence of which fact is borne by a statement that he would not bow even to the Buddha.[6] His father seems to be a very wealthy person, possibly a local potentate, if we are to believe such a description.[7] The quarrel between the Buddha and Devadatta was a very long standing one, having had its origin in an incident in their childhood. The first quarrel between the Buddha and Devadatta, the Tibetan book states,[8] was over a goose, which was shot down by the latter and fell into the former's garden. Devadatta claimed it but the Buddha refused on the ground that it belonged to him who had saved it. All such stories are to be accepted with the greatest scepticism, the prime reason being, that they are, most probably, manufactured according to a set pattern to serve a specific purpose. The first important step in his life was his embracing the monastic life. Once when the Teacher had gone to Anupiya in the Malla country many sons of his kinsfolk followed him into renunciation with the exception of Devadatta and five other Śākyas.[9] But Devadatta soon followed the others into the Saṅgha. The real reason of this change of heart in him regarding his

[1] *Cariyā Piṭaka*, Dhammādhamma Cariyā.
[2] *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, I, Part 1, pp. 112–7.
[3] *Jātaka* (Ed. Fausboll), II, pp. 242-3.
[4] Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 326.
[5] Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 13.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 2, note 2.
[8] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
[9] *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 1, 112–7.

conversion to the new faith does not hold unanimity with the different accounts. According to some it was due more to a fear of public feeling and a sense of prestige accompanying his social position that brought about this change in his attitude. It appears to be certain that he agreed to embrace the faith propounded by his cousin owing more to external reasons than an inherent desire. The Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā [1] clearly states that he was converted under compulsion and Rockhill [2] also says that he was made to enter the order much against his will. If this fact be well remembered that in Devadatta Buddhism found an unwilling follower who brought with him the Śākyan pride of race and personality many of his later actions become easier to comprehend. Once in the Saṅgha, Devadatta was intelligent enough to acquire all the essential basic lore which goes to mark out a person from a crowd as a proficient monk. His name is included in a list of eleven elders in the Order who are called "Buddha" or the Awakened Ones. But in the opinion of Dr. Rhys Davids [3] it doubtless refers to a period before the schism. He was more attracted towards the acquisition of the power of working miracles, Potthujjanikā Iddhi, which seems to have helped him much in gathering a number of followers. King Ajātaśatru was once overawed by an exhibition of the miraculous powers of Devadatta. His haughty and jealous nature prompted him more towards forming a nucleus around him of which he would be the leader. This passionate desire of his to be the leader, rather than a follower, found him later in serious trouble. He is represented as a man to whom the end is all and the nature of the means does not matter. The Tibetan version states that in his attempt to usurp the spiritual leadership from his cousin, Devadatta resorted to the baser art of seducing the Buddha's wife [4] with whose aid he hoped to obtain recognition as the accredited leader of the Śākya people. In the Saṅgha he was quite popular and was honoured and respected by people at large. He was proficient in meditation and was a versatile preacher [5] and as such was a recipient of extensive gifts (mahālābha sakkāralābhi). This statement can be supported by a story from the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā.[6] An upāsaka who had invited Sāriputta collected subscriptions from the people of Rājagaha for charity to the monks. After everything was given away there remained an exquisitely beautiful robe, which raised a dispute. One section said that it should be given to Sāriputta, while others voted for Devadatta adding that he was their constant companion in happiness or sorrow like a "water-pot". And those who were in favour of Devadatta formed the majority. This incident clearly shows the esteem in which he was held by the populace.

The next important events in his life were his association with Ajātaśatru, his efforts at schism, his attempts at wresting the leadership of the Saṅgha from the Buddha which finally brought about his downfall. That Ajātaśatru and Devadatta were good friends and that the latter played a part in the former's parricidal designs seems clear from the Pāli accounts. Nor is there anything impossible in such an association. The Pāli accounts give a detailed description as to how Devadatta incited Ajātaśatru to parricide promising that he himself would kill the Buddha and become the leader of the Saṅgha. Ajātaśatru put through his plans successfully but Devadatta was always foiled. There is remarkable unanimity among writers that Devadatta did actually plan the Buddha's death.

But, coming to his schismatic activities, we find him in a totally different light, not so much as a scheming villainous murderer attempting to usurp the leadership that did not belong to him by right, but as a serious ascetic determined to carry the premises of the new monastic theory to its logical conclusion. Even in the orthodox Pāli accounts it is stated that Devadatta pleaded for a more rigorous ascetic life which ultimately formed the basis of his breaking away from the orthodox Saṅgha. The Buddha allowed his monks permission to eat fish and flesh, to accept gifts of robes and invitations to dinner and

[1] *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 1, 112–7.
[2] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
[3] Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, IV, p. 675.
[4] Gour, *Spirit of Buddhism*, 151-2. This statement is based on Tibetan legends.
[5] *Jātaka*, II, pp. 242-3.
[6] *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 1, 112–7.

residential places. Devadatta argued for a life of better austerity and broke up the Saṅgha on the following five grounds: (1) That the monks should always live in forests (araññakā), (2) that they should maintain themselves by begging only (pattapiṇḍikā), (3) that they should make for themselves robes from rags picked up from refuge heaps (paṃsukūlikā), (4) that they should always live at the foot of trees (rukkhamūlikā), and (5) that they should never eat fish or flesh (macchamaṃsaṃ na khādeyyaṃ).[1]

Another point of his difference with the Buddha was that he had no objection to the laity attending the various meetings of the Saṅgha. One point of similarity, however, could be found in his differences with his cousin if we are to believe that "Devadatta attempted to discredit his cousin by founding his teachings on the 'former Buddhas'."[2] In this nobody can find any villainy; it is only a plea for a simpler and more austere life and opposition to all compromise. It seems not a little strange that a man like Devadatta who has been described as a confirmed villain, a schemer of wicked propensities, could have succeeded in creating a split in the monastic organization that required all the miraculous powers of Sāriputta and Moggallāna to bridge. Again, from his five points we can fairly hold that Devadatta, for obvious reasons, was inclined more towards simpler and austere monastic life and strove to keep the name of his Saṅgha pure, which fact can be supported by a story from the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā.[3]

It is possible that Devadatta was held up to ridicule and contempt, calumny and censure, particularly because he tried to break up the unity of the Saṅgha as a warning to all those who harboured such thoughts. The circumstances surrounding his death are too fantastic to hold credence. The story of his final repentance and begging forgiveness of the Buddha while in his last moments also seems to be rather unconvincing. The earth swallowing up the sinner is a favourite motif in Indian religious literature. What finally became of Devadatta we cannot say.

This, then, is the riddle of the life of Devadatta. Is he the same person who plotted to murder the Buddha for usurping the leadership of the Saṅgha for the glory of it and also the one who created a schism in the Assembly in opposition to all compromise and for the sake of a simpler and a more austere life? The two aspects are entirely conflicting. Could the solution be found in the fact that all the Pāli accounts worth the name came into existence after Devadatta's attempts at schism and hence, naturally, are coloured and biased, if not propagandist? In the light of these contradictions that on the one hand he was honoured and respected by the populace in spite of his being reputed to be a schemer and a villain as we are asked to believe, and on the other that he broke up the Saṅgha on the grounds of austerity, his part in Ajātaśatru's parricidal designs raises a question-mark of doubt in the minds of careful readers. We can say without the fear of serious contradiction that a real Devadatta tradition is lost to us and all accounts of this person must be subjected to a searching examination.

All the descriptions of Devadatta's habits and thoughts are too stereotyped and inspired to bear even a remote semblance to verisimilitude. Many Jātaka stories state that Devadatta imitated the Buddha by posting two leading disciples on either sides while preaching,[4] that he was ungrateful and treacherous,[5] that he was slanderous and harsh in speech,[6] that he was relentless,[7] that he was conceited and an incorrigible liar[8] and finally that he is supposed to have killed Uppalavaṇṇā.[9] All these details were probably filled in after a lapse of considerable time and it is natural that they were unfavourable to him.

Regarding his "philosophy" nothing definite is known but Dr. Rhys Davids[10] has ventured a suggestion on the strength of an Anguttara passage that he was of the view that concentration of mind (and not the ethical training of the Aryan Path) that made

[1] *Jātaka*, II, pp. 242-3. [2] Gour, *op. cit.*, p. 148. [3] *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, Vol. 3, p. 145.
[4] *Jātaka*, II. p. 38. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 70. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 202. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 240.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 242-3. [9] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 107. [10] Hastings, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 675.

a man an Arhat. This view is in full conformity with his plea for a more secluded and austere life which would naturally be more conducive to Dhyāna.

On the strength of the information available today nothing definite can be said regarding the personality of this man and we trust that further research would be able to solve this riddle and to throw more light on some of the obscure points in the history of Buddhist monasticism in which he played an important part.

ON THE HINDU QUADRATURE OF THE CIRCLE

By K. MUKUNDA MARAR *and* C. T. RAJAGOPAL

"All history is the history of thought." There can be nothing else except thought that can be the object of historical knowledge.—R. G. COLLINGWOOD.

1. This paper is a sequel to an article bearing the same title contributed more than a hundred years ago to the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, by Charles M. Whish of the Hon. East India Company's Civil Service in the Madras Establishment.[1] The article of Whish has come to be accepted as one of our chief sources of information concerning Hindu achievements in "circle squaring", but the questions it raises with regard to the date of these achievements have still to be answered. If the date given by Whish is accepted, the first significant Hindu investigations of π (the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter) must have preceded by some two centuries the efforts of Newton, Leibniz and Gregory in the same direction. Such a conclusion is no doubt provisional until we have established the antiquity as well as the indigenous origin of the four "śāstras" from which Whish draws his material: *Tantrasaṅgraha*, *Yukti-Bhāṣa*, *Karaṇa-Paddhati* and *Sadratnamālā*. Nevertheless the existence of these mathematical works,[2] with a main theme which is supposed to be five hundred years old—a supposition which has not been disproved thus far—must make one wary of any assertion that "after the time of Bhāskara (born A.D. 1114) no Indian mathematical work of historical value or interest is known."[3] Even when such statements issue from a historian of Indian mathematics, of the eminence of G. R. Kaye, one has the uneasy feeling that a difficult question of history has been dealt with brusquely, rather in the manner of the Scottish preacher who said: "My friends, we will look this difficulty boldly in the face—and pass on."

Whether we choose to defend Kaye or to attack him, we have to reckon with difficulties which cannot be merely stared out of countenance. Before we can hope to tackle them with any assurance, we need all the help which students of Sanskrit, historians of Malabar and Indologists in general can give us. Our purpose, in what follows, is not to offer a solution of the difficulties, but to bring them vividly to the fore. This we propose to do by filling in the details of a picture which Whish has given in outline—an undertaking which Whish himself contemplated in a sequel to his essay. After enunciating the rules, embodied in Sanskrit ślokās, for expressing π in infinite series of certain forms and for

[1] "On the Hindú Quadrature of the Circle, and the infinite series of the proportion of the circumference to the diameter exhibited in the four Śástras, the Tantrasangraham, Yucti-Bhásá, Carana Padhati and Sadratnamāla," *TRAS.*, 3 (1835), 509–523. This article will hereafter be denoted by the abbreviation *TRAS* and the four "Sāstras" of Whish by *T*, *Y*, *K*, *S* respectively, wherever it is found convenient. These works, with the exception of the third, are available only in manuscript. Our study of the relevant portions of the works and the literature relating to the works has been helped not a little by the devoted labours of Prince Rāma Varma (12th prince of Cochin) and Mr. K. Balagangadharan, one of our colleagues. We wish to express our deep gratitude for all that these two gentlemen have done for us.

[2] *Karaṇa-Paddhati* has been recently published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Our references *K* (T.S.S.) in the following pages are to this volume. MSS. of *Tantrasaṅgraha*, *Yukti-Bhāṣā* and *Sadratnamālā* are available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (Tirupati): (i) *T* (Sanskrit) with commentary, No. R 3205; (ii) *T* (Sanskrit), No. D 13426; (iii) *Y* (*Gaṇita-Yukti-Bhāṣa*-Malayaḷam) No. D 332; (iv) *S* (Sanskrit), No. R 4448; (v) *S*, Vyākhyā without the text (Malayaḷam), No. D 243. The Adyar Library contains (i) *T* (Sanskrit), No. 34 I. 3, (ii) *S* (Sanskrit), No. 21 B. 6. The Director of the Library has been kind enough to permit us to check some of Whish's quotations with reference to these MSS.

[3] G. R. Kaye, *Indian Mathematics* (Calcutta, 1915), 24.

calculating its value therefrom to any degree of approximation, he planned to publish the demonstrations of the rules as given in *Yukti-Bhāṣa*,[4] the Malayaḷam commentary on the mathematical texts of *Tantrasaṅgraha* and *Karaṇa-Paddhati*. But he died before he could complete the task he had set himself[5] and left a gap in the history of Indian mathematics accessible to the English-speaking world. In the hundred years from Whish's death until now there would appear to have been but a single attempt to fill the gap, viz., Mukunda Marar's essay, "Derivation of the value of π—how the ancients did it", in a recent number of the Journal of Cochin Teachers' Association.[6]

1.1. The first section of our paper gives the geometrical proof, substantially as it stands in *Yukti-Bhāṣa*, of Gregory's series for the inverse tangent which is the origin of all the series for π in Whish's article. To enable readers to study the proof in the proper historical perspective, we have indicated the lines along which Gregory and Leibniz, independently of each other, arrived at the series which has been named after the former.

1.2. Our second section is devoted exclusively to Gregory's series for π and the method employed by Hindu mathematicians, as it is set forth in *Yukti-Bhāṣa*, to convert this alternating series into others more rapidly convergent and consequently more useful in evaluating π. Stated in the language of modern mathematics, the Hindu method is seen to be sufficiently general to convert Gregory's alternating series for π into another in which the general term is $O(1/n^{2p+1})$ or $O(1/n^{2p+2})$ as $n \to \infty$, p being any positive integer.

1.3. In our concluding section we touch on the questions of date and authorship of Whish's manuscript sources. Since the answers to the questions are to be sought mainly in the field of Kerala literature and tradition, we have brought together our gleanings in this field for the sake of the non-Keralīya who may not have ready access to them from a single source.

I. *Yukti-Bhāṣa* proof of Gregory's series.

2. Gregory's series for the inverse tangent can be written thus: for $|\text{arc}\tan t| \leqslant \pi/4$,

$$\text{arc}\tan t = t - \frac{t^3}{3} + \frac{t^5}{5} - \cdots \qquad [K, S.]$$

It is formulated in certain Sanskrit ślokās which Whish quotes from the two manuscript works shown in brackets.[7] On the basis of the material furnished by Whish, we may say that *Tantrasaṅgraha* too reveals a knowledge of the series, implicitly if not explicitly. For it contains enunciations, in the form of ślokās, of two special cases of the series: the limiting case $t = 1$ [*T*, *K*][8] and the particular case $t = 1/\sqrt{3}$ [*T*, *S*].[9] *Yukti-Bhāṣa* gives a geometrical proof of the former case which, with a very slight and obvious alteration in the figure, is seen to cover all cases. This alteration is almost the only point of departure from its original of the proof given below.[10]

[4] *TRAS*, 523.

[5] *JRAS*, 3 (1836) contains a reference to "Mr. C. M. Whish of the Madras Civil Service, deceased", in connexion with the donation of his collection of manuscripts to the Society by his brother J. C. Whish (*vide* proceedings of the Society, July 2, 1836, p. lxxiii).

[6] *Teachers' Magazine*, 15 (1940), 28–34.

[7] *TRAS*, 518, 520. Any reference hereafter to the source of a theorem, consisting in the abbreviation for the source placed within square brackets [ ], may be taken to indicate the fact that Whish has given the enunciation of the theorem in ślokā form as found in the source. Gregory's series is given in *K* (T.S.S.), 19, Chap VI, verse 18. To facilitate reference, Whish's ślokās, as well as one or two others, relevant for our purpose, are collected together in an Appendix by Mr. K. Balagangadharan.

[8] *TRAS*, 516. Also *K* (T.S.S.), 10, Chap. VI, verse 1.

[9] *TRAS*, 513*f*, 519.

[10] The reader is referred to Mukunda Marar's article in *Teacher's Magazine* for the actual proof in *Yukti-Bhāṣa*.

2.1. *Yukti-Bhāṣa* bases its proof on the two lemmas which follow. The first of the lemmas is obtained geometrically from similar triangles and the second is a deduction from the first.

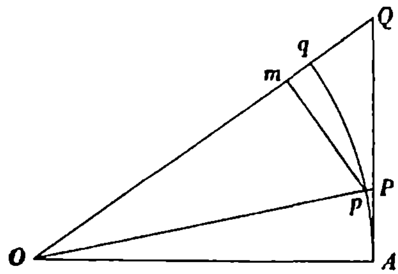


FIG. 1.

LEMMA 1. Let P, Q be points on the tangent at A to a circle of unit radius whose centre is O; let OP meet the circle in p. If m is the foot of the perpendicular from p to OQ, pm is given by

$$pm = \frac{PQ}{OP \, . \, OQ}.$$

LEMMA 2. If, in Lemma 1, PQ is small, the arc pq of the circle intercepted between OP and OQ is given by

$$\text{arc } pq = \frac{PQ}{OP^2} \quad \text{or} \quad \frac{PQ}{1+AP^2},$$

correct to a first approximation.

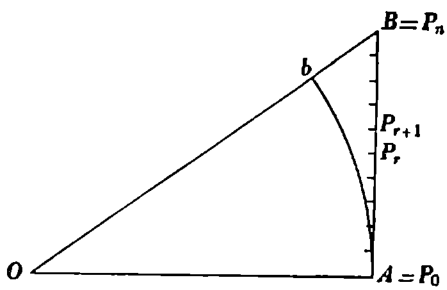


FIG. 2.

. PROOF OF GREGORY'S SERIES. Let the point B, on the tangent at A, be such that $A\hat{O}B \leqslant 45°$. Write $\tan A\hat{O}B = AB = t$ ($\leqslant 1$). Divide AB into n equal parts, denoting the points of division and the end points by $P_0(=A)$, P_1, P_2, . . . , P_{n-1}, $P_n(=B)$, in the order in which they occur from A to B. Let OB meet the circle in b. Then we find, from Lemma 2,

$$\text{arc } Ab = \lim_{n \to \infty} \sum_{r=0}^{n-1} \frac{P_r P_{r+1}}{1+AP_r^2} = \lim_{n\to\infty} \sum_{r=0}^{n-1} \frac{t/n}{1+(rt/n)^2}$$

$$= \lim_{n\to\infty} \sum_{r=0}^{n-1} \frac{t}{n} \left\{ 1 - \left(\frac{rt}{n}\right)^2 + \dots + (-1)^{\nu-1} \left(\frac{rt}{n}\right)^{2\nu-2} + \frac{(-1)^\nu \left(\frac{rt}{n}\right)^{2\nu}}{1+\left(\frac{rt}{n}\right)^2} \right\}.$$

Now making use of the result

$$\lim_{n\to\infty} \frac{1}{n^{p+1}} \sum_{r=0}^{n-1} r^p = \frac{1}{p+1},$$

we obtain

$$\text{arc } Ab = t - \frac{t^3}{3} + \cdots + (-1)^{\nu-1} \frac{t^{2\nu-1}}{2\nu-1} + (-1)^\nu R_\nu,$$

where $0 < R_\nu < 1/(2\nu+1)$; whence, letting $n \to \infty$, we are led to Gregory's series for $0 < t \leqslant 1$. The validity of the series for $-1 \leqslant t < 0$ becomes obvious when we change the sign of t.

2.11. There are two points which emerge from a consideration of the mathematical text presented here. In the first place, it employs relations which would appear not to have been noticed in Europe before the modern forerunners and followers of the calculus started their investigations. Thus the formula

$$\sum_{r=0}^{n-1} r^p \sim n^{p+1}/(p+1) \quad (n \to \infty)$$

first presented itself to Roberval (1634) and Fermat (1636) in connection with problems of quadrature,[11] while the relation

$$\text{arc tan } t = \lim_{n\to\infty} \sum_{r=0}^{n-1} \frac{t/n}{1+(rt/n)^2},$$

found its first explicit statement in the course of Euler's evaluation of π by an asymptotic series.[12]

Our second point is not unconnected with the first. The Hindu mathematicians achieved without the aid of the calculus results which for us are best treated by means of the calculus.[13] But the Europeans who first explored the possibilities of expressing a circular arc as an infinite series deliberately employed the calculus to guide them. Thus (i) Gregory (1761) would seem to have obtained his series for arc tan t by a direct use of the relation $d(\tan\theta) = \sec^2\theta\, d\theta$ and the subsequent integration in series of

$$\int d\,(\tan\theta)[1+\tan^2\theta]^{-1}.^{14}$$

(ii) Leibniz (1673) obtained the same series by a calculation (involving integration) of the area bounded by the arc of a circular sector, the tangent at one end of the arc and the radius through the other end.[15] (iii) Newton (1669 ?)[16] derived his series for arc sin s by a method which is in effect the integration of the equality

$$d\theta = d\,(\sin\theta)/\sqrt{1-\sin^2\theta}.$$

The method may be freed from the explicit use of the calculus and brought into line with the method of limits used in *Yukti-Bhāṣa* by describing it as consisting in the

[11] D. E. Smith, *History of Mathematics* (1st ed.) 2, 688.

[12] Euler, *Commentarii Academiae Petropolitanae ad annum* 1739 cited by M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen uber Geschichte der Mathematik* (2nd ed.), 3, 672*f*. *Vide* also T. J. I'a. Bromwich, *An Introduction to the Theory of Infinite Series* (2nd ed.), 326.

[13] This is not to gainsay the fact that (i) the Hindus' proof of Gregory's series shows their awareness of the principle of integration as we ordinarily use it nowadays; (ii) their intuitive perception of small quantities like $O(1/n^p)$, $n \to \infty$, in a certain rôle, is as good as a practical knowledge of differentiation. (*Vide* Section II *infra*.)

[14] *James Gregory, Tercentenary Memorial Volume* published by the Royal Society of Edinburgh (1939), 357 and 463.

[15] Cantor, *op. cit.*, 80*f*.

[16] *Opuscula Newtoni* cited by Cantor, *op. cit.*, 159*f*.

subdivision into a large number n of equal parts of the orthogonal projection s of the arc Ab on the tangent at A. This leads to the relation

$$\text{arc sin } s = \lim_{n\to\infty} \sum_{r=0}^{n-1} \frac{s/n}{\sqrt{1-(rs/n)^2}};$$

but the further proof depends on the use of the Binomial Theorem for a negative fractional index which our Hindu mathematicians do not seem to have known. Their manner of obtaining the expansion of $[1+(rt/n)^2]^{-1}$, viz., by repeated applications of the identity $[1+(rt/n)^2]^{-1} = 1-(rt/n)^2+(rt/n)^4[1+(rt/n)^2]^{-1}$, may be taken as some indication of their ignorance in this matter. Another pointer in the same direction is the absence from Hindu mathematical literature of Newton's series for arc sin s, but the presence of the approximate formula: arc sin $s \doteqdot s+s^3/3\,!$ for arc sin $s<3°\ 45'$, presumably obtained by the method described above, using the approximation

$$[1-(rs/n)^2]^{-\frac{1}{2}} \doteqdot 1+\frac{1}{2}(rs/n)^2$$

for small s.[17] Therefore, even if we post-date the Hindu researches in circle-rectification by a couple of centuries and more, to make their first appearance later than that of similar European researches, there is a *prima facie* case for asserting that the former were not directly inspired by the latter.

II. Hindu transformations of Gregory's series for π.

3. We discuss in this section the Hindu transformations of Gregory's series for π and certain rational approximations to π resulting therefrom. A fact not to be lost sight of in this connexion is the Hindus' realization of the irrationality of π which finds clear expression in a statement such as the following: "Why do we give for π an approximate value in place of the true value? For this reason: the ratio of the circumference to the diameter can never be expressed as the ratio of two integers."[18] It is not irrelevant to recall here that Lambert's paper demonstrating the irrationality of π was read before the Berlin Academy in the year 1761.

3.1. Issuing from Gregory's series for π,

(1) $$\frac{\pi}{4} = 1-\frac{1}{3}+\frac{1}{5}-\cdots,$$

there is an endless sequence of approximations to $\pi/4$ in which every approximation is better than the preceding. For large values of n, the first three approximations are

(2a) $$\frac{\pi}{4} \doteqdot 1-\frac{1}{3}+\frac{1}{5}-\cdots\pm\frac{1}{n}\mp\frac{1}{2(n+1)},$$ [19]

(3a) $$\frac{\pi}{4} \doteqdot 1-\frac{1}{3}+\frac{1}{5}-\cdots\pm\frac{1}{n}\mp\frac{(n+1)/2}{(n+1)^2+1}$$ [20] [T],

[17] *K* (T.S.S.), 19, Chap. VI, verse 19, which gives also sin $\theta \doteqdot \theta-\theta^3/3\,!$ for $\theta < 3°\ 45'$.

[18] This is a free translation of a passage from the work *Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭācārya with the Bhāṣya of Nīlakaṇṭhasomasutvan* (Part I), Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, which will be denoted in what follows by the abbreviation *A* I (T.S.S.); part II of the same work being denoted *A* II (T.S.S.). The passage in question is part of Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on verse 10, chap. II, of Āryabhaṭīya.

[19] (2a), (2′a) and (4) are not explicitly mentioned by Whish, perhaps also by his sources.

[20] *TRAS*, 512*f*. (3a) and (3′a) are stated incorrectly by Whish with $(n-1)$ in place of $(n+1)$ in the last term. This is because he has given to the Sanskrit word ūrdhva in two ślokās of *Tantrasaṅgraha*, the incorrect meaning "antecedent" (to n) instead of the correct one "subsequent" (to n). These ślokās are to be found in chapter II, folios 10, 11 of the Adyar MS.

(4a) $$\frac{\pi}{4} \doteqdot 1-\frac{1}{3}+\frac{1}{5}-\cdots \pm\frac{1}{n}\mp\frac{\frac{(n+1)^2}{4}+1}{\{(n+1)^2+4+1\}\frac{n+1}{2}}$$ [21] [T].

These approximations give rise to the following alternating series whose sums involve π linearly and in which the nth term is $O(1/n^{2p+1})$ as $n \to \infty$, $p = 1, 2, 3$.

(2) $$\frac{\pi-3}{4} = \frac{1}{3^3-3}-\frac{1}{5^3-5}+\frac{1}{7^3-7}-\cdots$$ [22] [T],

(3) $$\frac{\pi}{16} = \frac{1}{1^5+4\cdot 1}-\frac{1}{3^5+4\cdot 3}+\frac{1}{5^5+4\cdot 5}-\cdots$$ [23] [T],

(4) $$\left(\frac{\pi}{4}-\frac{7}{9}\right)\Big/36 = \frac{1}{(3^3-3)(2^2+5)(4^2+5)}-\frac{1}{(5^3-5)(4^2+5)(6^2+5)}+\cdots.$$

In the concluding portion of a section bearing the name *Paridhi Vyāsam* in *Yukti-Bhāṣa* we find the method of deriving from (1) first (2a), (3a) and thence (2), (3). This method is explained in general terms in §§ 4, 4.1 below.

3.2. A slight modification of the method leads to a second sequence of approximations to π which can be derived from the alternating series

(1′) $$\frac{\pi-2}{4} = \frac{1}{2^2-1}-\frac{1}{4^2-1}+\frac{1}{6^2-1}-\cdots$$ [24] [T],

in which the general term is $O(1/n^2)$. The derivation of this series itself is simple. In (1), grouping together two consecutive terms beginning with the first and then two consecutive terms beginning with the second, we obtain successively

$$\frac{\pi}{8} = \frac{1}{2^2-1}+\frac{1}{6^2-1}+\frac{1}{10^2-1}+\cdots$$ [25] [T],

$$\frac{4-\pi}{8} = \frac{1}{4^2-1}+\frac{1}{8^2-1} \quad \frac{1}{12^2-1}+\cdots$$ [26] [T],

whence by subtraction (1′) follows. The first two members of the sequence of approximations which can be derived from (1′), in much the same way as (2a) or (3a) can be derived from (1), are

(2′a) $$\frac{\pi-2}{4} \doteqdot \frac{1}{2^2-1}-\frac{1}{4^2-1}+\cdots\pm\frac{1}{n^2-1}\mp\frac{1}{2(n+1)^2},$$

(3′a) $$\frac{\pi-2}{4} \doteqdot \frac{1}{2^2-1}-\frac{1}{4^2-1}+\cdots\pm\frac{1}{n^2-1}\mp\frac{1}{2\{(n+1)^2+2\}}$$ [27] [T],

in the series corresponding to which the nth term will be shown to be $O(1/n^{2p+2})$, $p = 1, 2$ respectively (§5 *infra*).

4. In (1), let us denote the partial sum of the first $(2m+1)$ terms and that of the first $2m$ terms by $S\left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right)$ and $S\left(\frac{n-1}{2}\right)$ respectively, where $n = 4m+1$. These partial sums

[21] *TRAS*, 513.
[22] *TRAS*, 514. Also *K* (T.S.S.), 16, chap. VI, verse 2.
[23] *TRAS*, 514.
[24] *TRAS*, 515.
[25] *TRAS*, 515*f*. This series was also known to Leibniz, *vide* M. Cantor, *op. cit.*, 3, 83.
[26] *TRAS*, 515*f*.
[27] *TRAS*, 515.

are in fact approximate values of $\pi/4$ when n is large and can be improved upon by applying to them "corrections" $-f(n+1)$ and $f(n-1)$ respectively, the corrected values being

$$T\left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right) = S\left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right) - f(n+1),$$

$$T\left(\frac{n-1}{2}\right) = S\left(\frac{n-1}{2}\right) + f(n-1).$$

It will be noticed that the sign prefixed to the correction which is applied to any partial sum is the same as the sign of the total remainder following the partial sum in question; also, that the corrected value $T\left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right)$ of $S\left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right)$ is the partial sum of $\frac{n+1}{2}$ terms of a new series for $\frac{\pi}{4}$ more rapidly convergent than (1). Denoting by u_n the $\frac{n+1}{2}$ nd term of the new series, we have by subtraction

$$u_n = \frac{1}{n} - f(n+1) - f(n-1). \tag{5}$$

In (5) let us change n successively to $n-2$, $n-4$, . . . , 3 and eliminate $f(n-1)$, $f(n-3)$, . . . , $f(4)$ between the relations thus obtained and (5). Then we get

$$-u_3 + u_5 - \cdots + u_n = -\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \cdots + \frac{1}{n} + f(2) - f(n+1).$$

Hence if $f(n)$ satisfies the preliminary condition $f(n) = o(1)$ $(n \to \infty)$, we have the following series for π more rapidly convergent than (1).

$$\frac{\pi}{4} = 1 - f(2) - u_3 + u_5 - \cdots + u_n - \cdots \tag{6}$$

4.1. Now if we are to have $u_n = O(n^{-(2p+1)})$ $(n \to \infty)$, it is readily seen from (5) that a condition to be satisfied by f, more comprehensive than the one already mentioned, is $f(x) = O(1/x)$ $(x \to \infty)$. Therefore, in testing the suitability of various functions f in (5), we may confine ourselves to those of the type

$$2f(x) = \frac{a_1}{x} + \frac{a_2}{x^2} + \frac{a_3}{x^3} + \cdots \qquad (x \geqslant x_0). \tag{7}$$

With such a choice of f, (5) can be written:

$$\frac{1}{n} = 2f(n) + 2\frac{f''(n)}{2!} + 2\frac{f^{\text{iv}}(n)}{4!} + \cdots + \frac{1}{(2p)!}\{f^{(2p)}(n-\theta_1) + f^{(2p)}(n+\theta_2)\} + u_n \tag{8}$$

where $0 < \theta_1,\ \theta_2 < 1$ and the successive terms of the right-hand member (excluding u_n) are $O\left(\frac{1}{n}\right)$, $O\left(\frac{1}{n^3}\right)$, $\cdots$, $O\left(\frac{1}{n^{2p+1}}\right)$ respectively. Now introducing the condition $u_n = O\left(\frac{1}{n^{2p+1}}\right)$ in (8), we find that

$$\frac{1}{n} + O\left(\frac{1}{n^{2p+1}}\right) = 2f(n) + 2\frac{f''(n)}{2!} + \cdots + \frac{2}{(2p-2)!} f^{(2p-2)}(n). \tag{9}$$

Employing (7) in (9) we can calculate $a_1, a_2, \ldots, a_{2p}$ and verify that $a_2 = a_4 = \ldots = a_{2p} = 0$. Any function of the type (7), with the first $2p$ coefficients having these calculated values, can be used in (5) to get a series like (6) for π in which $u_n = O\left(\frac{1}{n^{2p+1}}\right)$.

4.11. Clearly a function $f(n)$ satisfying our requirements can be expressed in the form of a continued fraction,

$$(10) \qquad 2f(n) = \frac{b_1}{n+}\,\frac{b_3}{n+}\,\frac{b_5}{n+}\cdots\frac{b_{2p-1}}{n},$$

where the b's can be calculated by expressing them in terms of the a's.

4.2. The method explained above gives as particular cases all the results mentioned in § 3.

First, $p = 1$ in (9) makes $2\,f(n) = 1/n$ and leads us to (2a). Now calculating u_n from (5) and employing it in (6), we get (2).

Next, $p = 2$ in (9) makes $a_1 = 1$, $a_3 = -1$, $(a_2 = a_4 = 0)$ and consequently $b_1 = b_3 = 1$. Hence (10) leads to $2f(n) = \frac{1}{n+}\,\frac{1}{n}$ and thence to (3a). Making use of this expression in (5), we obtain a value for u_n which substituted in (6) gives rise to the following series equivalent to (3).

$$\left(\frac{\pi}{4} - \frac{1}{5}\right)\Big/4 = -\frac{1}{3(2^2+1)(4^2+1)} + \frac{1}{5(4^2+1)(6^2+1)} - \cdots.$$

Finally, when $p = 3$, we obtain from (9), $a_1 = 1$, $a_3 = -1$, $a_5 = 5$, $(a_2 = a_4 = a_6 = 0)$ and hence $b_1 = b_3 = 1$, $b_5 = 4$. Therefore $2f(n) = \frac{1}{n+}\,\frac{1}{n+}\,\frac{4}{n}$ whence (4a) follows. The corresponding value of u_n calculated from (5) and used in (6) gives us (4).

4.3. Two observations will not be out of place here; the first on the evaluation of π by means of approximations such as those in § 3, the second on the kind of "proof" offered by *Yukti-Bhāṣa* for the approximations and the corresponding series.

(i) It seems likely that the remarkable approximations to π which Whish mentions[28]—correct to 9 decimal places [*T*], up to and correct to 10 decimal places [*K*],[29] up to and correct to 17 decimal places [*S*]—were got by using formulae such as (3a) or (4a). Some idea of the labour necessary to achieve such approximations may be obtained from a calculation very kindly communicated to us by Prince Rāma Varma (12th prince of Cochin). The prince has verified that, by taking $n = 55$, we can evaluate π correct to 10 decimal places from (4a), to 6 decimal places from (3a) and finally to the first decimal place only from (2a).

(ii) The reader can judge for himself how far our exposition is in accord with the spirit of the original by studying the arguments in *Yukti-Bhāṣa* leading up to any one of the approximations and the corresponding series, say (2a) and (2). The right choice of $f(n)$ in this case is preceded by "trials" in which $2f(n)$ is taken successively as

$$\frac{1}{n}, \quad \frac{1}{n+\frac{1}{2}} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{1}{n+\frac{1}{4n}};$$

the second choice of $f(n)$ being rejected as of a type more unsuitable than the first. The Hindu expositor thus reveals himself as a person gifted with a fine intuition in respect of certain orders of smallness which serves him in place of the analysis employed by us in 4.1.

5. We proceed to explain how, by slightly modifying the method in § 4.1, we can convert (1′) into another alternating series in which the nth term is $O(1/n^{2p+2})$. Denoting the partial sum of the first $n/2$ or $2m+1$ terms of the series (1′) by $S(n/2)$ and the corresponding partial sum of the new series by $T(n/2)$, let us write

$$T(n/2) = S(n/2) - f(n+1),$$

[28] *TRAS*, 511*f*.

[29] *K* (T.S.S.), 0, chap. VI, verse 7.

where $f(n)$ is to be determined so that u_n, the $n/2$nd term of the new series, is $O(1/n^{2p+2})$. This leads to the relation

$$(5') \qquad O(1/n^{2p+2}) = u_n = \frac{1}{n^2-1} - f(n+1) - f(n-1).$$

Since we have as a preliminary condition $f(n) = O(1/n^2)$, we can take

$$(7') \qquad 2f(x) = \frac{1}{x}\left\{\frac{a_1}{x}+\frac{a_2}{x^2}+\cdots\right\} \qquad (x \geqslant x_0).$$

This choice of f makes (5′) equivalent to

$$(9') \qquad \frac{1}{n^2-1}+O\left(\frac{1}{n^{2p+2}}\right) = \sum_{r=0}^{p-1} \frac{2}{(2r)!} f^{(2r)}(n),$$

whence we can calculate $a_1, a_2, \ldots, a_{2p}$ (verifying, as in § 4.1, that $a_2 = a_4 = \ldots = a_{2p} = 0$). Thus the correction function $f(n)$ which relates a partial sum of (1′) to the corresponding partial sum of the new series derived from (1′) is indeterminate save for its first $2p$ coefficients. It is however uniquely determined if restricted to the form

$$(10') \qquad 2f(n) = \frac{1}{n}\left\{\frac{b_1}{n+}\,\frac{b_3}{n+}\cdots\frac{b_{2p-1}}{n}\right\}.$$

5.1. Illustrations of § 5 are furnished by (2′*a*) and (3′*a*).

First consider the case $p = 1$. Then (9′) gives $2f(n) = 1/n^2$ which establishes (2′*a*) and, in conjunction with (5′), determines an alternating series with the same sum as (1′) and $u_n = O(1/n^4)$.

If $p = 2$ in (9′) we find that $a_1 = 1$, $a_3 = -2$, $(a_2 = a_4 = 0)$ and hence in (10) $b_1 = 1$, $b_3 = 2$. This establishes at one stroke (3*a*) and an alternating series having the same sum as (1′) and $u_n = O(1/n^6)$.

The number of such illustrations is of course infinite.

6. Before concluding this section we may point out that a series for π in which all the terms are of the same sign and the nth term is $O(1/n^{2p+2})$ or $O(1/n^{2p+3})$ can be obtained by grouping together consecutive terms in the alternating series derived from (1) or (1′) which have the nth term $O(1/n^{2p+1})$ or $O(1/n^{2p+2})$. Thus from (2), grouping together consecutive terms beginning with the first, we get the series

$$\frac{\pi-3}{6} = \frac{2}{(2\,.\,2^2-1)^2-2^2}+\frac{1}{(2\,.\,4^2-1)^2-4^2}+\frac{1}{(2\,.\,6^2-1)^2-6^2}+\cdots\text{.}^{30} \qquad [K]$$

III. Date and authorship of the principal works cited.

7. Any discussion which seeks to date the first appearance of the Hindu investigations in circle-squaring must centre round the origin of *Tantrasaṅgraha* if not round that of *Karaṇapaddhati*. For tradition and scholarship alike support the statement of Whish that *Tantrasaṅgraha* was written about the year 4600 in Kali era or 1500 A.D., that is to say, long before either of the works *Yukti-Bhāṣa* and *Sadratnamālā*. While these two works are devoid of historical interest on account of their comparative recency, *Yukti-Bhāṣa* must nevertheless claim the attention of the historian of mathematics as being the only Hindu work on π which gives proofs of the theorems it states. *Karaṇapaddhati* has also claims, but of a different kind. Whether we assign to it the date 1733 A.D. (following Whish) or the date 1430 A.D. (following Vadakkumkur Rāja Rāja Varma), it is perhaps the earliest Hindu work which explicitly mentions Gregory's series, perhaps also the earliest which gives the first two terms in the series for the sine and the inverse

[30] *TRAS*, 517. Also *K* (T.S.S.), 17, chap. VI, verse 4.

sine. Our essay would therefore be incomplete without some observations on the date and authorship of the three works, *Tantrasaṅgraha*, *Karaṇapaddhati* and *Yukti-Bhāṣa.* As for the work *Sadratnamālā*, a starting point for a historical inquiry is furnished by the *Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts* in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library which says that the work is "a treatise on astronomy: by Śaṅkaravarman, who wrote this at the instance of Rāmavarman, brother of Udayavarman, King of Kerala country (Kadattanād)".[31] It may be possible on the basis of this statement to confirm the supposition to which Whish seems to lead up, namely, that *Sadratnamālā* is a work of his own period.[32]

8. Among the other three works with which we are concerned, *Tantrasaṅgraha* seems to offer the clearest evidence of date and authorship. Every chapter of this work concludes with the statement that the author is one Nīlakaṇṭha of Kerala deśa and Gārga gotra.[33] Further the commentary attached to the work explains that the lines:

He Viṣṇo! nihitam kṛtsnam jagat tvayyeva kāraṇe
Jyotiṣam jyotiṣe tasmai namo nārāyaṇāya te,

from the introductory verse, and the lines:

Golaḥ kālakriyā cāpi dyotyatetra mayāsphutam
Lakṣmīśa nihitadhyānaiḥ iṣṭam sarvam hi labhayate,

from the concluding verse contain two Kali chronograms representing the exact dates on which the work was begun and finished. The two chronograms (italicized in our quotations) are supposed to tell us that the actual composition of *Tantrasaṅgraha* occupied only five days—from the 1680548th day of Kali era (26th day of Mīna month of the Kali year 4601) to the 1680553rd day of Kali era (1st day of Meṣa month of the Kali year 4602).

8.1. The editor of Āryabhaṭīya with bhāṣya or commentary, in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, endorses this reading of the chronograms and supplements our information with the following biographical details about Nīlakaṇṭha.[34] The commentator who is none other than the author of *Tantrasaṅgraha*[35]—as shown by the fact that he acknowledges the latter as his composition—is a native of Kuṇḍa grāma (Tṛkkandiyūr in British Malabar) and a Somayājin (i.e. a Brahmin authorized to perform the Soma sacrifice) belonging to the Āśvalāyana Śākha of Gārga gotra. He is the son of a certain Jātaveda; he has a maternal uncle of the same name and a brother Śaṅkara who is an astronomer. Further he is a disciple of Dāmodara, son of Parameśvarācārya who (according to the Trivandrum editor) propounded the Dṛgganita system of astronomy, after fifty-five years of study, in 1353 Śaka.[36] Nīlakaṇṭha himself supplies this date in his *Āryabhaṭīya Bhāṣya* where we read:

Evam dṛgganitam Śake triṣu visvamite kṛtam.[37]

The Trivandrum editor closes his short sketch of Nīlakaṇṭha with the remark that the Somayājin shows himself a master of not only Jyotiṣa (a curious label for a subject which includes circle-squaring!) but also Mīmāṁsa, Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa and Vedānta—in brief "a solid mass of erudition submerged somehow or other under the current of time".

[31] *Triennial Catalogue*, 5, Part I (1932), 6518–20.

[32] Whish, however, is mistaken when he says that Śaṅkaravarma is the "younger brother of the present Raja of Kadattanāda near Tellicherry".

[33] Whish therefore has made a mistake in identifying the author with Talakuluttura Nambūdiri, who, according to Mr. P. S. Puruṣottaman Nambūdiri (referred to later), is none other than the astrologer Govindabhaṭṭa eulogized in the introduction to *Sphuṭanirṇaya*.

[34] Introduction to *A* I (T.S.S.).

[35] *A* I (T.S.S.), 112, where Nīlakaṇṭha says, "so has been said by me in *Tantrasaṅgraha*".

[36] *A* I (T.S.S.), introduction, where it is said that Parameśvarācārya lived on the bank of the river Nilā near the seashore in North Kerala and was the author of numerous works including *Bhaṭadīpikā*, *Goladīpikā*, and a commentary on *Līlāvatī*.

[37] Quoted in the Preface to *Goladīpikā* (T.S.S).

8.2. Mr. K. Balagangadharan has brought to our notice a significant piece of evidence which seems to corroborate the accepted view that Nīlakaṇṭha's period may be fixed between 1450 A.D. and 1550 A.D. Nīlakaṇṭha mentions in his *Āryabhaṭīya Bhāṣya*[38] that he has observed a total eclipse of the sun on the 'ahargaṇa' represented by 'hamsovihitamtāpa', that is to say, on the 1668478th day of Kali era; and an annular eclipse of the sun at Anantakṣetra (Trivandrum?) on the 'ahargaṇa, grāsavṛdhyārdhitorkaḥ' or on the 1681072nd day of Kali era. These two days (in the order mentioned) fall approximately in the years 1467 A.D. and 1502 A.D.; so that a verification (by independent calculation) of the occurrence of the two eclipses will go a long way towards establishing the authenticity of the documents attributed to Nīlakaṇṭha.

9. *Karaṇapaddhati* differs from *Tantrasaṅgraha* in that it is to all intents and purposes an anonymous work. Its text furnishes no clue to the identity of the author beyond the statement that he is a Somayājin belonging to the family of 'Nūtanagṛha'[39] and born at Śivapura or Trichur. To this statement the editor of *Karaṇapaddhati* in the Trivandrum series adds his surmise that the author is a Vaiṣṇavite and, reviewing the internal evidence, concludes that the author is reluctant to reveal his identity. An old manuscript commentary we have been able to procure, by one Punnāga Kroḍa Bikṣu Varya, throws no further light on the question. However, Rāja Rāja Varma, in the first volume of his recently published History of Sanskrit Literature in Kerala,[40] takes the view that the period of the author may be placed between the years 550 and 650 of the Malabar era, corresponding roughly to 1375–1475 A.D. He quotes in support of his view a verse from a work called *Gaṇita sūcikā grantha* by one Govindabhaṭṭa. The verse runs:

Navīna vipine mahīmakhabhujām Somayā-
Jyudaragaṇa kotraya samabhavacca tenā munā
Vyalekhi sudṛguttama *Karaṇapaddhati* samskṛtā
Tripanca śati bhūmita pradhita Śaka samvatsare;

and may be rendered into English thus: A Somayājin and an expert astronomer, who was born in the Brahmin family of Navīnavipina (same as Nūtanagṛha or Pudumana) by him was composed this refined *Karaṇapaddhati*, the best in the Dṛg system, in 1353 Śaka era. If we accept the corresponding year in Christian era, 1430 A.D., as the date of *Karaṇapaddhati*, the Kali chronogram which Whish thinks he has discovered in the colophon of the work[41] becomes a find of dubious value.

10. If our information regarding the author of *Karaṇapaddhati* is scanty, that regarding the author of *Yukti-Bhāṣa* is scanty as well as uncertain. The paper manuscript of *Yukti-Bhāṣa* in the library of the Sanskrit College at Trippunithura, has the colophon:

Alekhi Yuktibhāṣa vipreṇa Brahmadattasamjñena ye
Golapathasthaḥ syuḥ kalirahitāḥ śodhayantaste.

which makes out (i) that the work was written by a Brahmin named Brahmadatta, (ii) according to Mr. K. Vāsudevan Mūsad of Trichur,[42] that the phrase "Yè Golapathasthaḥ syuḥ" followed by "kali" indicates the 1771931st day of Kali era and therefore suggests 4741 Kali era or 1639 A.D. as the date of the work. But the colophon quoted here is not to be found in certain palm-leaf manuscripts of the work; and, to add to our difficulties,

[38] *A* II (T.S.S.), 23.

[39] For this reason the author of *Karaṇapaddhati* is referred to as Pudumana Comatiri in Malayaḷam tradition.

[40] The book is in Malayaḷam and published by the Kamalālaya Book Depot, Trivandrum. The references given are to pages 529*f*.

[41] "The words Gaṇita Metatsamyac", says Whish, "written in numbers amount to 1765653 in terms of the days of the present age; which is found to agree with A.D. 1733, being 86 years and 271 days before the 31st of December 1819." *TRAS*., 522.

[42] The views of Mr. Vāsudevan Mūsad and Mr. Puruṣottaman Nambūdiri were communicated to us by Mr. K. Balagangadharan.

A. K. T. K. M. Nambūdiripād, in a Malayaḷam essay contributed to a volume entitled *The Nambūdiris*, edited by Parayil Rāman Nambūdiri (1918), ascribes the authorship of *Yukti-Bhāṣa* to one Parangota of Ālattūr village. As if this were not enough, we have the statement of Whish that the author is Kelallūr Nambūdiri, and the statement of Mr. P. S. Puruṣottaman Nambūdiri—a well-known astronomer of Chengannur (Travancore) who has recently brought out an account of Hindu astronomy in Malayaḷam, called *Gaṇitanirṇaya*—that Kelallūr Nambūdiri is Nīlakaṇṭha himself!

10.1. What we can say with certainty about *Yukti-Bhāṣa* may be summed up thus. The introductory verse in the work is the same as the benedictory stanza in the commentary attached to *Tantrasaṅgraha*:

Pratyūha vyūha vihatikārakam paramamahaḥ
Antaḥkaraṇa śuddhim me vidadhātu sanātanam.

Strange to say, this verse is replaced by another in a Sanskrit version of *Yukti-Bhāṣa*, listed as No. R4382, with the elaborated title *Gaṇita-Yukti-Bhāṣa*, in the catalogues of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. Except for this substitution and the omission of the reference to Brahmadatta, the Sanskrit version seems to agree closely with the Malayaḷam manuscript from Trippunittura. In both the Sanskrit and the Malayaḷam versions there is the explicit statement that the work is a systematic exposition of the mathematics of "planetary motions" after the manner of *Tantrasaṅgraha*.

11. With all this information to hand we have no further clue than Whish had to the identity of the "Brahmin who lived on the coast of the western ocean, and, having examined the heavens for twelve years, established what is laid down in *Tantrasaṅgraha*".[43] Is this Brahmin Parameśvara, or Nīlakaṇṭha, or the anonymous author of Karaṇapaddhati, or one whose incognito is even more difficult to pierce? The historian of mathematics faces this question as well as another no easier to answer. If we accept the indigenous origin of the Hindu work relating to π (whether in the fifteenth century or later), are we not up against the difficulty of having to regard the inadequate pre-Tantrasaṅgraha-Karaṇapaddhati mathematics as the foundation for the substantial superstructure raised on it? Even a casual glance at the foundation reveals its inadequacy. For instance, while Mahāvīra and Bhāskara are both familiar with the expressions for

$$\sum_{r=0}^{n-1} r^2 \quad \text{and} \quad \sum_{r=0}^{n-1} r^3,$$ [44]

their knowledge does not extend to the relation

$$\sum_{r=0}^{n-1} r^p \sim n^{p+1}/(p+1) \qquad (n \to \infty).$$

Again, while Āryabhaṭa and Mahāvīra are both interested in *Vyutkalita*, "the summation of a series after a certain number of initial terms have been cut off",[45] they go nowhere near the problem of expressing the remainder after a large number of terms of a slowly convergent series as a continued fraction to a certain degree of approximation. To mention one more instance, while Āryabhaṭa must be supposed to be familiar with the principle embodied in the approximation $\delta\theta \doteqdot \sin\delta\theta$ for small $\delta\theta$,[46] he is far from anticipating in any form the relation $d\theta = d(\tan\theta)/(1+\tan^2\theta)$ which the author of *Yukti-Bhāṣa* proves without bringing in trigonometrical considerations. In short, our study of the mathematical contributions of the Brahmin on the coast of the western ocean

[43] This is Whish's quotation from a work called *Dṛkkaraṇam* which we have been unable to trace.
[44] D. E. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, 2, 495n.
[45] D. E. Smith, *ibid.*, 1, 162.
[46] D. E. Smith, *ibid.*, 2, 620.

reveals to us the gulf which separates his work from that of his predecessors. To vary the metaphor, we are confronted by a locked door the key to which seems to have been lost. Are we to seek for the key in some little-known corner of India's past where she came into vital contact with the West? Or in some unexplored mine of ancient lore not yet on the map of modern scholarship? Or in the sanctum of some long-forgotten Ācārya's mind?

APPENDIX.

By K. Balagangadharan

I

The main theorems of the foregoing article are collected below; underneath each theorem, its enunciations in the original śloka form and in English are given. In Theorems 3–12, C denotes the circumference of a circle whose diameter is D. The abbreviations employed to denote the references are all those of the article.

I may mention at the outset that the translations appended to the ślokas are not literal, aiming as they do at clarity rather than mere verbal faithfulness to their originals. As for the ślokas themselves, my sources have been the Trivandrum edition of *Karaṇa-paddhati* and the MSS. of *Tantrasaṅgraha* in the Trippunittura Sanskrit College Library and the Adyar Library. All my quotations from T, barring those under Theorems 6, 11, 12, 13, follow the Trippunittura MS., the quotations under these theorems following Whish and the Adyar MS.

Theorem 1. $\text{arc tan } t = t - \frac{1}{3}t^3 + \frac{1}{5}t^5 - \ldots$ $(|\text{arc tan } t| < \pi/4)$

Ślokā :

व्यासार्धेन हतादभीष्टगुणतः कोट्याप्तमाद्यं फलं
ज्यावर्गेण विनिघ्नमादिमफलं तत्तत्फलं चाहरेत् ।
कृत्या कोटिगुणस्य तत्र तु फलेष्वेकत्रिपञ्चादिभि-
र्भक्तेष्वोजयुतैस्त्यजेत्समयुतिं जीवाधनुश्शिष्यते ॥

[*K* (T.S.S.), 19, chap. VI.]

Translation.—[Take any circular arc, as in the accompanying figure, whose "abscissa" is not less than its "ordinate".] Multiply the "ordinate" of the arc by the semidiameter and divide it by the "abscissa". This gives the first term. Multiply this term by the square of the "ordinate" and divide it by the square of the abscissa; a second term results. Repeat the process of multiplying by the square of the ordinate and dividing by the square of the abscissa. Thus obtain successive terms and divide them in order by the odd integers 1, 3, 5, . . . If now the terms whose order is odd are added to, and the terms whose order is even subtracted from the preceding, what remains is the circumference.

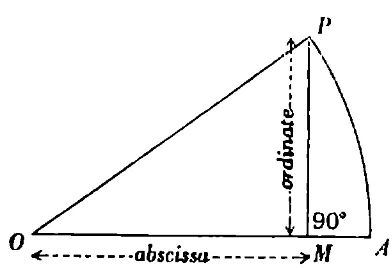


Fig. 3.

That is to say, in the figure (with $A\hat{O}P \leqslant 45°$).

$$\text{arc } AP = OP\left\{\frac{PM}{OM} - \frac{1}{3}\frac{PM^3}{OM^3} + \frac{1}{5}\frac{PM^5}{OM^5} - \cdot\ \cdot\ \cdot\right\}$$

Remarks.—(i) The words "ordinate" and "abscissa" and "arc" in the English translation do duty for the Sanskrit ज्या (literally bowstring) कोटि and धनुस् (bow) respectively. (ii) The restriction on the length of the arc is mentioned by the commentator.

THEOREM 2. *If, in Fig.* 3, $A\hat{O}P < 225'$, *then*

$$PM \doteqdot \text{arc } AP - \frac{1}{6}\frac{(\text{arc } AP)^3}{OP^2},$$

$$\text{arc } AP \doteqdot PM + \frac{1}{6}\frac{PM^3}{OM^2}.$$

Ślokā :

स्वल्पचापघनषष्ठभागतो विस्तरार्धकृतिभक्तवर्जितम् ।
शिष्टचापमिह शिञ्जिनी भवेत् तद्युतोऽल्पगुणोऽसकृद्धनुः ॥

[*K* * (T.S.S.), 19, chap. VI.]

Translation.—The arc, when small, diminished by the sixth part of its own cube divided by the square of the semidiameter, becomes the ordinate; and often, when small, the arc is equal to the ordinate increased by its cube divided by six times the square of the semidiameter.

Remarks.—(i) As in Theorem 1, the restriction on the arc is due to the commentator. (ii) The English "ordinate" now serves for the Sanskrit शिञ्जिनी.

THEOREM 3. $C = \sqrt{12}\, D\left\{1 - \frac{1}{3\,.\,3} + \frac{1}{5\,.\,3^2} - \frac{1}{7\,.\,3^3} + \cdot\ \cdot\ \cdot\right\}$

Ślokā :

व्यासवर्गाद्रविहतात्पदं स्यात्प्रथमं फलम् ।
ततस्तत्तत्फलाच्चापि यावदिच्छं त्रिभिर्हरेत् ॥
रूपाद्ययुग्मसंख्याभिर्लब्धेष्वेषु यथाक्रमम् ।
विषमाच्च युते त्यक्ते युग्मयोगे वृतिर्भवेत् ॥

[*T*, chap. II.]

Translation.—Extract the square root of twelve times the diameter squared. This is the first term. Dividing the first term repeatedly by 3, obtain other terms: the second after one division by 3, the third after one more division and so on. Divide the terms in order by the odd integers 1, 3, 5, . . . ; add the odd-order terms to, and subtract the even-order terms from, the preceding. The result is the circumference.

THEOREM 4. $C = 4D - 4D\left(\frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{5}\right) - 4D\left(\frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7}\right) - \cdot\ \cdot\ \cdot$

* The same verse occurs in *T*, chap. II, with the last pāda replaced by स्पष्टता भवति चाल्पतावशात् ।

Ślokā :

व्यासाच्चतुर्घ्नाद्बहुशः पृथक्स्थात् त्रिपञ्चसप्ताद्ययुगाहृतानि ।
व्यासे चतुर्घ्ने क्रमशस्त्वृणं स्वं कुर्यात्तदा स्यात्परिधिस्सुसूक्ष्मः ॥

[*K* (T.S.S.), 16, chap. VI.]

Translation.—Divide four times the diameter by each of the odd integers 3, 5, 7, . . . Take away every quotient whose order is even from the one preceding it. Subtract from four times the diameter the combined result of all such small operations. This gives the exact value of the circumference.

THEOREM 5. $$C = 3D+4D\left\{\frac{1}{3^3-3}-\frac{1}{5^3-5}+\frac{1}{7^3-7}-\ldots\right\}$$

Ślokā :

व्यासाद्वनसंगुणितात् पृथगाप्तं त्र्याद्ययुग्विमूलघनैः ।
त्रिगुणव्यासे स्वमृणं क्रमशः कृत्वापि परिधिरानेयः ॥

[*K* * (T.S.S.), 16, chap. VI.]

Translation.—Divide four times the diameter separately by the cubes of the odd integers, from 3 onwards, diminished by these integers themselves. These quotients alternately add to and subtract from thrice the diameter. The circumference is again obtained.

THEOREM 6. $$C = 16D\left\{\frac{1}{1^5+4\,.\,1}-\frac{1}{3^5+4\,.\,3}+\frac{1}{5^5+4\,.\,5}-\ldots\right\}$$

Ślokā :

समपञ्चाहतयो यरूपाद्ययुजाश्चतुर्घ्ना मूलयुताः ।
ताभिष्षोडशगुणिताद्व्यासात्पृथगाहृते तु विषमयते ॥
समफलयोगे त्यक्ते स्यादिष्टव्याससंभवः परिधिः ।

[*T*, chap. II.]

Translation.—Sixteen times the diameter is divided by the fifth powers of each of the odd integers 1, 3, 5,. . . . . ., *increased by these integers themselves.* The quotients obtained in this order are added to, or subtracted from, the preceding, according as their order is odd or even. What remains after these operations is the circumference.

THEOREMS 7 & 8. $$C = 8D\left\{\frac{1}{2^2-1}+\frac{1}{6^2-1}+\frac{1}{10^2-1}+\ldots\right\}$$

$$C = 4D-8D\left\{\frac{1}{4^2-1}+\frac{1}{8^2-1}+\ldots\right\}$$

Ślokā :

द्व्यादेश्चतुरादेर्वा चतुरधिकानां निरेकवर्गास्स्युः ।
हाराः कुञ्जरगुणितो विष्कंभः स्वमितिकल्पितो भोज्यः ॥
फलयुतिराद्ये वृत्तं भाज्यदलं फलविहीनमन्यत्र ।

[*T*, chap. II.]

* This stanza again is found in *T*, chap. II, with two minor alterations: वनसंगुणित being replaced by वारिधिनिहत and त्रिगुण by त्रिघ्न ।

Translation.—One less than the squares of the successive integers starting with 2 or 4 and increasing steadily by 4, are the successive divisors. Eight times the diameter is divided separately by these and the results are added together to give the circumference in the first case. In the second case the similar sum is subtracted from four times the diameter to give the circumference.

THEOREM 9. $C = 3D+6D\left\{\frac{1}{(2\,.\,2^2-1)^2-2^2}+\frac{1}{(2\,.\,4^2-1)^2-4^2}+\frac{1}{(2\,.\,6^2-1)^2-6^2}+\dots\right\}$

Ślokā :

वर्गैर्युजां वा द्विगुणैर्निरेकै-
वर्गीकृतैर्वर्जितयुग्मवर्गैः ।
व्यासं च षड्घ्नं विभजेत्फलं स्वं
व्यासे त्रिनिघ्ने परिधिस्तदा स्यात् ॥

[*K* (T.S.S.), 17, chap. VI.]

Translation.—Divide six times the diameter separately by the squares of, twice the squares of the even integers (2, 4, 6, ...) minus 1, diminished by the squares of the even integers themselves. The sum of the resulting quotients increased by thrice the diameter is the circumference.

THEOREM 10. $C \doteqdot 4D\left\{1-\frac{1}{3}+\frac{1}{5}-\dots\pm\frac{1}{n}\mp\frac{(n+1)/2}{(n+1)^2+1}\right\}$,

where n is odd and large.

Ślokā :

व्यासे वारिधिनिहते रूपहृते व्याससागराभिहते ।
त्रिशरादिविषमसंख्याभक्तमृणं स्वं पृथक् क्रमात् कुर्यात् ॥
यत्संख्ययात्र हरणे कृते निवृत्ता हृतिस्तु जामितया ।
तस्या ऊर्ध्वगतायास्समसंख्याया तद्दलं गुणोऽन्ते स्यात् ॥
तद्वर्गः रूपयुतो हारो व्यासाब्धिघाततः प्राग्वत् ।
तस्यामाप्तं स्वमृणे कृते धने शोधनञ्च करणीयम् ॥
सूक्ष्मः परिधिः सा स्यात् वहुकृत्वो हरणतोऽतिसूक्ष्मश्च ।

[*T*, chap. II.]

Translation.—Multiply the diameter by 4. Subtract from it and add to it alternately the quotients obtained by dividing four times the diameter by the odd integers 3, 5, 7, . . . Let the process stop at a certain stage giving rise to a "finite sum". Multiply four times the diameter by half the even integer subsequent to the last odd integer used as a divisor and then divide by the square of the even integer increased by unity. The result is the correction to be added to or subtracted from our finite sum, the choice of addition or subtraction depending on the sign of the last term in the sum. The final result is the circumference determined more exactly than by taking a large number of terms, i.e. terms going beyond the stage at which we stopped.

THEOREM 11. $C \doteqdot 4D\left\{1-\frac{1}{3}+\frac{1}{5}-\dots\pm\frac{1}{n}\mp\frac{\left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right)^2+1}{\left[(n+1)^2+4+1\right]\left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right)}\right\}$

n being odd and large.

Ślokā :

अस्मात्सूक्ष्मतरोऽन्यो विलिख्यते कश्चनापि संस्कारः ।
अन्ते समसंख्यादलवर्गस्सैको गुणस्स एव पुनः ॥
युगगुणितो रूपायुतस्समसंख्यादलहतो भवेद्धारः ।
त्रिशरादिविषमसंख्याहरणात्परमे तदेव वा कार्यम् ॥

[*T*, chap. II.]

Translation.—Next is given another correction more precise than the foregoing. The square of half the even integer next greater than the last odd-integer divisor, increased by unity, is *a multiplier*. This multiplier multiplied by 4, then increased by unity and then multiplied by the even integer already defined, gives a divisor. Multiply and divide four times the diameter by our multiplier and divisor respectively. The result is an improvement on our previous correction.

THEOREM 12. $C \doteqdot 2D+4D\left\{\frac{1}{2^2-1}-\frac{1}{4^2-1}+\ldots\pm\frac{1}{n^2-1}\mp\frac{1}{2[(n+1)^2+2]}\right\}$

n being even and large.

Ślokā :

द्व्यादियुजां विकृतयो व्येका हारा द्विनिघ्ना विष्कंभे ।
धनमृणमन्तेऽन्त्योर्ध्वगतौजकृतिर्द्विसहितहारो द्विघ्नः ॥

[*T*, chap. II.]

Translation.—Divide four times the diameter separately by the squares of the even integers (2, 4, 6, . . .) diminished by unity. The quotients alternately add to and subtract from twice the diameter, the process terminating at a certain stage and defining a "finite sum". Take the odd integer subsequent to the last even integer squared, square it, add 2 to the square, double the sum, and with the result thus obtained, divide four times the diameter. This quotient added to or subtracted from the finite sum defined, leads to a corrected value of the circumference.

II

The passage from the work *Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭācārya with the Bhāṣya of Nīlakaṇṭhasomsutvān*, referred to in footnote 18 of the article is part of the following.

कुतः पुनर्वास्तवीं संख्यामुत्सृज्यासन्नैवेहोक्ता । उच्यते । तस्या वक्तुमशक्यत्वात् । कुतः । येन मानेन मीयमानो व्यासो निरवयवः स्यात्, तेनैव मीयमानः परिधिः पुनः सावयव एव स्यात् । येन च मीयमानः परिधिर्निरवयवस्तेनैव मीयमानो व्यासोऽपि सावयव एव, इत्येकेनैव मानेन मीयमानयोरुभयोः क्वापि न निरवयवत्वं स्यात् । महान्तमध्वानं गत्वाप्यल्पावयवत्वमेव लभ्यम् । निरवयवत्वं तु क्वापि न लभ्यमिति भावः ॥ [*A* I (T.S.S.), 41*f*.]

Translation.—Why then is it that discarding the exact value, only the approximate one has been mentioned here? This is the answer: because it (the exact value) cannot be mentioned. If the diameter, measured with respect to (by comparison with) *a particular* unit of measurement, is commensurable, with respect to that same unit of measurement, the circumference is incommensurable (the circumference cannot be *exactly* measured by the same unit); and if with respect to any unit the circumference is commensurable, then, with respect to that same unit, the diameter is incommensurable. Thus there will

never be commensurability for both with respect to the same unit of measurement. Even by going a long way, only the "degree of commensurability" can be made very small, absolute commensurability can never be attained.

III

Prince Rāma Varma (12th prince of Cochin) has brought to light a fact which goes some way towards substantiating the conjecture that the proofs in *Yukti-Bhāṣa* are almost as old as *Tantrasaṅgraha*. He has in his possession a Sanskrit manuscript commentary on Bhaskara's *Līlāvati*, by an unknown Keralīya. This commentary, which bears the title *Kriyākramakarī*, contains the proofs of many of our theorems in forms which lead one to suppose that they are the originals of the proofs in *Yukti-Bhāṣa*. There is a verse in the commentary:

नारायणं जगदनुग्रहजागरूकं
श्रीनीलकण्ठमपि सर्वविदं प्रणम्य ।
व्याख्यां क्रियाक्रमकरीं रचयामि लीला-
वत्याः कथञ्चिदहमल्पधियां हिताय ॥

the first two pādas of which are identical with those of the third benedictory stanza in the commentary attached to *Tantrasaṅgraha*. This identity corroborates the statement in the verse that the author of *Kriyākramakarī* is a student of Nīlakaṇṭha and its Kali day of compilation (suggested by the underlined chronogram in the verse) is the 1681915th. Thus *Kriyākramakarī* would seem to be a work belonging to the same period as *Tantrasaṅgraha* (4602 Kali era); and it is not unlikely that a close study of it will lead to valuable conclusions regarding the origin of the mathematical arguments in *Yukti-Bhāṣa*.

A NEW FIND OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

By S. N. Chakravarti

This find, consisting of 685 pieces and five fragments, was made at the village of Bahal, in the Chalisgaon Tāluka of the East Khandesh District, in 1943, "while digging the foundation of the wall of the house of one Shankar Ramchandra Wani," and forwarded as Treasure Trove to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society which, as usual, sent the coins to the Archaeological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India for report on them. We may record here two earlier finds of silver punch-marked coins made in the Bombay Presidency. One from the village of Shinhi near Kolhapur, in the Kurveer Petta, discovered in 1871, consisted of 192 coins. Dr. Bhau Daji reported on the coins at a meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held on the 11th April, 1872.[1] The coins were found along with a gold ring bearing in Asokan Brāhmī the name *Nadibhagasa* (= of Nandibhaga). The other find was made in the Palanpur State[2] in 1918, but the number of coins in the find is not known. We may also record here two finds of early silver coins made in the Bombay Presidency. One, consisting of 52 pieces and a few fragments, was made, in 1876, at Sultanpur,[3] about 2 miles north of the town of Wai, in the Satara District. The other find was made at Dhank[4] in Kaṭhiāwāḍ, some year or two ago of the discovery of the Sultanpur find. As in the case of the Palanpur find, we do not also know how many coins the Dhank find contained. The coins of the Sultanpur find have all a blank reverse, and their obverse bears only one symbol. The coins of the Dhank find have various symbols (wheels, balls, elephants, etc.) on both sides. The symbols on the Sultanpur and Dhank coins, however, appear to have been impressed with a die instead of a punch.

The present find can be divided into three groups with reference to the size of the coins. The coins of the first group, designated here A, are thin and large, while those of the third, C, are thick and small. The coins of the second group, B, form a connecting link between the first and third groups. There are 106 coins in the first group, 232 in the second and 352 in the third. Each group contains coins of various shapes, such as square, rectangular, polygonal, round and oval.

The coins of each group have regularly on the obverse a group of four constant symbols and a varying fifth symbol, all of which are large and deeply punched. The reverse usually bears one or more symbols, which are much smaller and are punched less deeply. It is rarely blank. The reverse symbols, probably stamped by private bankers and merchants through whose hands the coins passed, usually differ from the symbols on the obverse. Of the five symbols on the obverse, two—the sun and a six-armed symbol—occur in every-one of the present coins.

Durgaprasad[5] divides silver punch-marked coins into three periods, designated later or Mauryan, middle and early. According to Walsh[6] small thick coins are of the Maurya

[1] *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. X, 1871–74: Appendix (Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society from 1st January 1871 to 30th January 1873), pp. XXI–XXIII.

[2] John Allan, *Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, p. LII.

[3] O. Cordington, "On some old silver coins found near Wai", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII, 1876, p. 400f.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 403. O. Cordington makes a reference to the Dhank find.

[5] Durgaprasad, "Classification and significance of the symbols on the silver punch-marked coins of Ancient India," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXX, 1934, No. 3; *Numismatic Supplement*, No. *XLV*. "Observations on different types of silver punch-marked coins, their periods and locale", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic of Bengal*, Vol. IV, 1937, No. 2; *Numismatic Supplement*, No. *XLVII*.

[6] E. H. C. Walsh, "Punch-marked coins from Taxila", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 59.

period and later than large thin coins. Unlike the two separate finds of silver punch-marked coins made in the Bhir mound at Taxila, the present find does not contain any extraneous datable coin. So the date of the deposit of the present find cannot be fixed. The larger find of 1171 coins from the Bhir mound contained two gold coins of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridaeus, and in the smaller find of 167 coins was a gold coin of Diodotus. Thus the date of the deposit of the larger find from the Bhir mound is fixed at about 317 B.C. and that of the smaller find at about 248 B.C. The larger Bhir mound find consists of 33 longbar coins, 79 minute coins and 1055 punch-marked coins. The punch-marked coins are of various shapes. They are thin and large, and bear on the obverse five symbols of which two are always the sun and a six-armed symbol. The coins of the smaller Bhir mound find are small, square and thick. The punch-marked coins of the larger Bhir mound find correspond with the coins of the first and second groups of our find, while those of the smaller Bhir mound find with the coins of our third group. But the fact remains that the two Bhir mound finds are of different dates. We think that the three groups of the present find represent three denominations [1] instead of three periods. The absence of small thick coins in the Bhir mound larger find would not imply that they were not in circulation at the time of the deposit of the find. Further, it would not be correct to account for the absence of thin large coins in the Bhir mound smaller find by saying that they went out of circulation and were no longer issued then. There are 338 large thin coins and 352 small thick ones in our find, which would indicate that both coins were in circulation at the time of the deposit of our find. The Bhir mound larger find implies that silver punch-marked coins were known as early as 317 B.C. It may be worth notice here that there is a class of early silver punch-marked coins which bear four symbols on the obverse. A find of 1245 of these coins has been made at Paila,[2] in the Kheri District of the United Provinces, in 1912. According to Durgaprasad,[3] who also refers to several similar coins, the coins with four obverse symbols are older than those with five obverse symbols. But such a view is open to objection; the date of the deposit of the Paila find cannot be determined, as no extraneous datable coin has been found in it.

The coins of each group of the present find may be divided into different classes and sub-classes with reference to symbols on the obverse. Each class bears on the obverse a group of four constant symbols, and a sub-class is formed by the fifth symbol. A passage in the Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa, a Pāli work written in Ceylon about 450 A.D., states that a shroff would be able after examining a coin to say at which village, town, city, mountain, or river bank and by what mint-master it was manufactured.[4] Of the four constant obverse symbols, two occur on every one of the coins of each class. The two common symbols probably have religious significance. Of the other two symbols, one may be of the locality where the coin was struck and the other of the mint-master. The fifth symbol may be of the authority issuing the coinage. We know from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra that besides the Superintendent of Mint (*Lakshaṇādhyakshaḥ*) there were other authorities who issued coinage. Such authorities may have been the *Saṅghas* (Communities of groups of villages), *Gaṇas* (tribes or clans), *Janapadas* (self-governing provinces), and *Naigamas* (either self-governing cities or guilds of merchants).[5] A Sūtra of Pāṇini, "*Saṅgh-āṅka-lakshaṇeshv-añ-yañiñām-aṇ*," shows that a *Saṅgha* had its *aṅka* or *lakshaṇa*, and Walsh would explain the larger number of the varying fifth mark by

[1] According to Kauṭilya, silver coins (*rūpyarūpa*) shall be a *paṇa*, half a *paṇa*, a quarter and one-eighth. *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, translated by R. Shamasastry, Second Edition, p. 95.

[2] Walsh, *op. cit.*, pp. ii, 7-8; Paila hoard of Punch-marked coins, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. II (1940), p. 15f.

[3] Durgaprasad, *op. cit.*

[4] *Archaeological Survey, Annual Report*, 1913-14, p. 226; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Indian Numismatics*, p. 99f. and p. 147f.

[5] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-11.

saying that "while each *Saṅgha* had its own *lakshaṇa*, the elected body of rulers for the time being may have had its own personal *aṅka*, which remained in use during its term of office and was given up when that body went out of office." [1]

The two symbols of the sun and a six-armed symbol are found on all silver punch-marked coins with five obverse symbols. But they do not occur on the silver punch-marked coins with a group of three constant symbols and a varying fourth symbol on the obverse. The symbol which is common on all coins of the latter type consists of three curved objects round a central boss. This symbol, therefore, may have religious significance. Of the remaining constant symbols, one may be of the locality and the other of the master of the mint. The fourth symbol may be of the authority issuing the coinage.

The obverse symbols on most of the coins of the present find, specially those on the coins of the third group, could not be made out accurately. Here 218 coins are classified, as shown in Tables I, II and III. In Table IV is given a description of the 12 coins illustrated on Plate II. The obverse symbols on all 218 coins are shown on Plate I.

TABLE I.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF 84 COINS OF GROUP A.

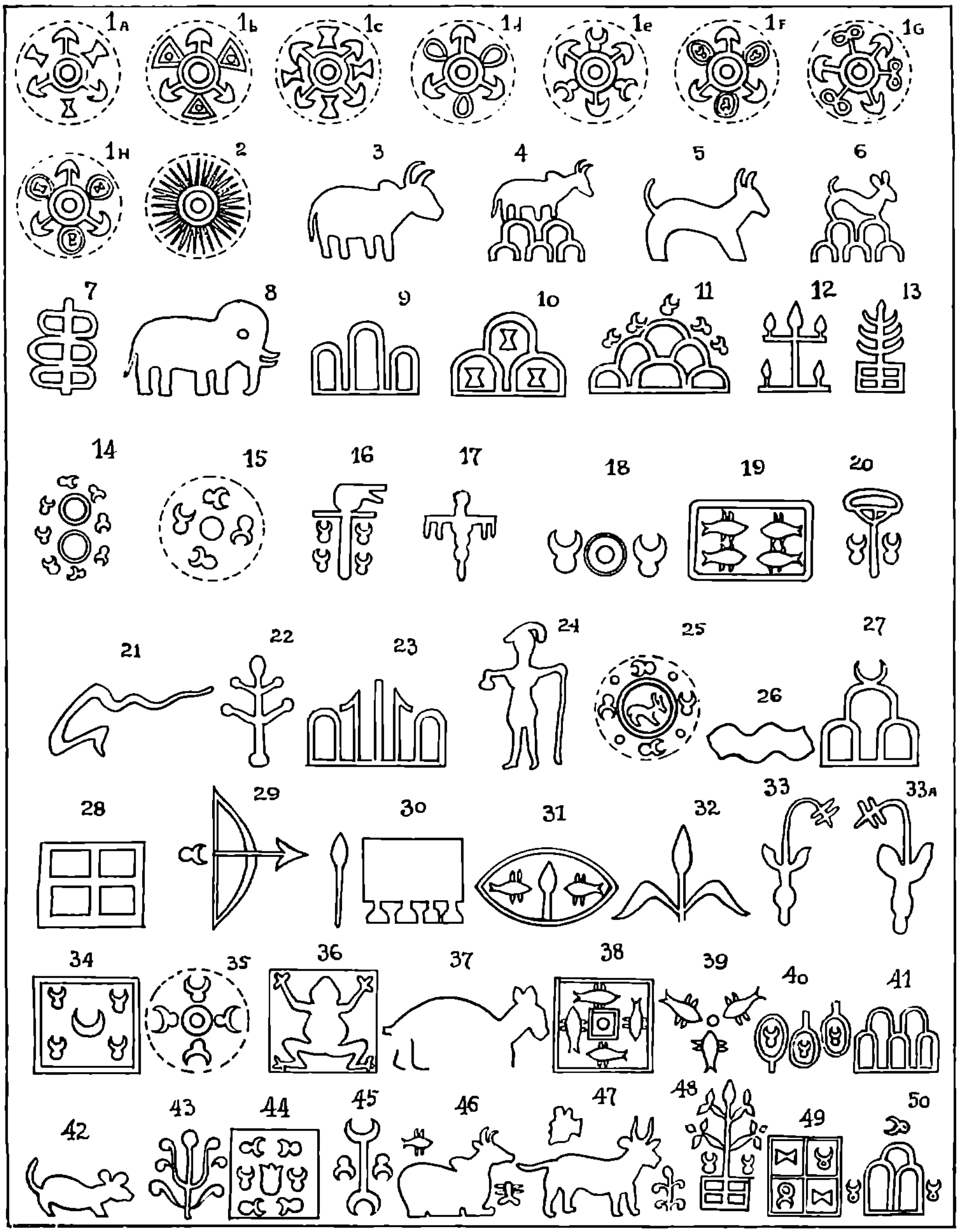
Group, Class and Sub-Class.	Distinctive obverse symbols (Plate I) of each Class.	Distinctive obverse symbols (Plate I) of each Sub-Class.	Number of coins.		
			Square.	Round.	Total.
GROUP A.					
Class I	1f, 2, 3 and 6.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do.	7	4	..	4
,, 2 ..	Do.	8	22	6	28
,, 3 ..	Do.	12	7	1	8
,, 4 ..	Do.	14	1	..	1
,, 5 ..	Do.	15	2	..	2
,, 6 ..	Do.	18	3	1	4
,, 7 ..	Do.	20	2	..	2
,, 8 ..	Do.	26	2	..	2
,, 9 ..	Do.	19	6	..	6
,, 10 ..	Do.	35	1	..	1
,, 11 ..	Do.	34	1	..	1
,, 12 ..	1d, 2, 3 and 6 ..	33a	1	..	1
Class II	1f, 2, 4, and 16.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do.	8	7	2	9
,, 2 ..	Do.	14	..	1	1
,, 3 ..	Do.	20	..	1	1
,, 4 ..	Do.	21	..	1	1
,, 5 ..	Do.	33a	1	..	1
Class III	1d, 2, 11 and 16.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do. ..	8	2	..	2
,, 2 ..	Do. ..	33	1	..	1
Class IV	1f, 2, 6, 7 and 36 ..	..	3	..	3
Class V	1b, 2, 18, 37 and 38 ..	..	1	..	1
Class VI	1d, 2, 8, 39 and 40 ..	..	1	..	1
Class VII	1d, 2, 6, 8 and 17 ..	..	1	..	1
Class VIII ..	1f, 2, 8, 10 and 41 ..	..	1	..	1
Class IX	1e, 2, 8, 9 and 42 ..	..	1	..	1
			71	13	84

[1] Walsh, *Taxila*, p. 5.

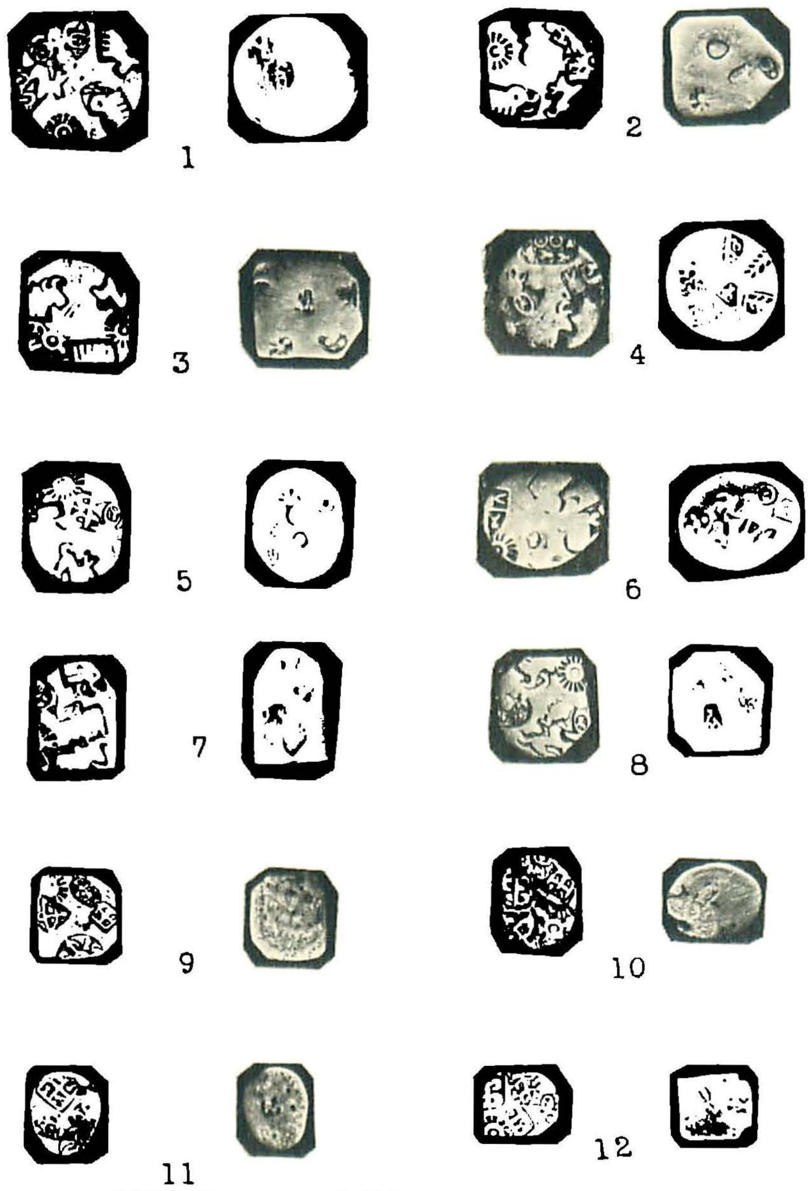
TABLE II.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF 100 COINS OF GROUP B.

Group, Class and Sub-Class.	Distinctive obverse symbols (Plate I) of each Class.	Distinctive obverse symbols (Plate I) of each Sub-Class.	Number of coins.		
			Square.	Round.	Total.
GROUP B.					
Class I	1f, 2, 3 and 6.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do. ..	7	9	3	12
,, 2 ..	Do. ..	8	24	11	35
,, 3 ..	Do. ..	12	4	3	7
,, 4 ..	Do. ..	22	..	1	1
,, 5 ..	Do. ..	14	1	..	1
,, 6 ..	Do. ..	18	1	..	1
,, 7 ..	Do. ..	20	..	1	1
,, 8 ..	Do. ..	19	..	2	2
Class II	1f, 2, 4 and 16.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do. ..	7	1	..	1
,, 2 ..	Do. ..	8	7	7	14
,, 3 ..	Do. ..	18	..	1	1
,, 4 ..	Do. ..	21	2	..	2
Class III	1e, 2, 9 and 42.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do. ..	8	1	2	3
,, 2 ..	Do. ..	23	3	..	3
Class IV	1d, 2, 8, 11 and 16 ..	..	2	1	3
Class V	1f, 2, 6, 8 and 26 ..	..	..	1	1
Class VI	1e, 2, 7 and 27.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do. ..	8	1		1
,, 2 ..	Do. ..	24	1		1
Class VII	1f, 2, 6 and 7.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do. ..	12	..	1	1
,, 2 ..	Do. ..	25	1	..	1
Class VIII ..	1e, 2, 7, 28 and 29 ..	..	2	1	3
Class IX	1e, 2, 13 and 42.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do. ..	7	..	1	1
,, 2 ..	Do. ..	9	1	1	2
Class X	1f, 2, 3, 8 and 32 ..	..	..	1	1
Class XI	1, 2, 13, 30 and 31 ..	..	..	1	1
			61	39	100



Obverse Symbols on the Silver Punch-marked Coins from Bahal.



Silver Punch-marked Coins from Bahal.

TABLE III.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF 30 COINS OF GROUP C.

Group, Class and Sub-Class.	Distinctive obverse symbols (Plate I) of each Class.	Distinctive obverse symbols (Plate I) of each Sub-Class.	Number of coins.		
			Square.	Round.	Total.
GROUP C.					
Class I	1a, 2, 7, 28 and 29 ..	..	5	1	6
Class II	1g, 2, 19 and 43.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do. ..	44	5	..	5
" 2 ..	Do. ..	27	1	..	1
Class III	1, 2, 13, 30 and 31 ..	..	2	1	3
Class IV	1e, 2, 23 and 37.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do. ..	27	1	..	1
" 2 ..	Do. ..	9	1	..	1
Class V	1, 2, 15, 45 and 46 ..	..	1	2	3
Class VI	1e, 2, 7 and 47.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do. ..	48	1	..	1
" 2 ..	Do. ..	27	3	..	3
Class VII	1, 2, 9 and 42.				
Sub-Class 1 ..	Do. ..	7	..	1	1
" 2 ..	Do. ..	23	3	..	3
Class VIII ..	1a, 2, 10, 13a and 46	..	1	..	1
Class IX	1a, 2, 3, 6 and 7 ..	..	..	1	1
Class X	1h, 2, 7, 48 and 49 ..	..	1	2	3
Class XI	1e, 2, 15 and 50 ..	..	1	..	1
			26	8	34

TABLE IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE 12 COINS ILLUSTRATED ON PLATE II.

No. on the Plate.	Group.	Weight in Grains.	Obverse symbols (Plate I).
1	A	46½	1f, 2, 3, 6 and 8.
2	"	48	Do.
3	"	48	Do.
4	"	49	1f, 2, 4, 14 and 16.
5	B	48	1f, 2, 3, 6 and 7.
6	"	48	1f, 2, 4, 8 and 16.
7	"	47½	Do.
8	"	49	1f, 2, 3, 6 and 14.
9	C	43½	1a, 2, 7, 28 and 29.
10	"	51	Do.
11	"	51	1f, 2, 7, 48 and 49.
12	"	51	Do.

AN APPEAL

FOR

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI MEMORIAL

The renowned Professor of Madras, Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, passed away on 5th September, 1943, at his village of Ganapati Agrahāram on the sacred Kāverī. The late Professor combined in himself the deep traditional learning of ancient India and the method and critical outlook of modern times. He was great as a teacher and inspired many of his students to devote themselves to Sanskrit learning in various branches. As Curator of the Government Oriental Library at Madras he was responsible for collecting a very large number of manuscripts and making the Library at Madras occupy the foremost place among Sanskrit Manuscript libraries. He edited several works and delivered numerous learned addresses at various conferences. He was the chief Editor of the *Journal of Oriental Research* at Madras for many years. He planned the revision and amplification of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*. The pupils, friends and admirers of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri have issued an appeal to all lovers of Sanskrit learning on behalf of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute which they propose to start in loving and grateful memory of their late guru. An influential and representative Committee has been appointed, of which the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar are respectively President and Treasurer and Messrs. K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar, A. Shanmuga Mudaliar and Dr. V. Raghavan are the Secretaries.

All lovers of Sanskrit and admirers of the work of the late Professor are requested to contribute liberally for the realization of the project of a Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute and send their contributions to the Treasurer, Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar, Advocate, 6 North Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras.

P. V. K.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Saṅgītaratnākara of Śārṅgadeva. With two commentaries; Vols. I and II (Adhys. 1 to 4). Edited by PANDIT S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI and published by the Adyar Library, Adyar 1943, 1944. Pp. xxxii+46 and xii+356. Price Rs.9 each volume.

These two volumes are nos. 30 and 43 of the Adyar Library Series of Adyar, Madras. They contain together Adhys. 1 to 4 of the most authoritative Sanskrit work on Music, namely Śārṅgadeva's Saṅgītaratnākara. A part of the work (Adhyāya I only) was published in 1879 A.D. at Calcutta, with the commentary of Siṁhabhūpāla; but this has been long out of print. The whole work with the commentary of Kallinātha was published in the Ānandāśrama Series, Poona, in 1895.

The present edition of the text of the Saṅgītaratnākara is carefully prepared "with the help of manuscripts available in the various libraries in and near Madras" (Introduction, p. vii) and also of the two printed editions mentioned above, (though variant readings are scarcely noted and there too without mentioning the sources). For the commentary of Siṁhabhūpāla, transcripts of two manuscripts, one at Bikaner and the other at Baroda, have been utilized (Intro., p. xix), while only one new MS. could be secured for the commentary of Kallinātha (Intro., p. vii), and it is the one from the Tanjore Palace Library. The edition was prepared by the late Pandit Subrahmanya Sastri, but some portion of Vol. I and the whole of Vol. II were seen through the press by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

The introduction discusses the date and works of Śārṅgadeva (the middle of the 13th century A.D.) as also the dates of the two commentators, Siṁhabhūpāla and Kallinātha. Personal history of the former as gathered from his works, namely the present commentary and two other works, Rasārṇavasudhākara on Alaṁkāra and Kuvalayāvalī, a Drama in four Acts, is given on pp. xii to xix. The printing and the get-up of the books is excellent and it is highly creditable to the publishers that they could bring out the second volume in so close succession after the first, especially in these days of scarcity of paper and labour. We hope the remaining Adhyāyas of the work will be similarly brought out without unnecessary delay. An Index of the halves of the stanzas is added at the end of each volume.

H. D. V.

Usāniruddha of Rāma Pāṇivāda. A Prākrit poem in four cantos. Edited by PANDIT S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI and DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA and published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, 1943. Price Rs.3-8-0 only.

Rāma Pāṇivāda who lived in the 18th century A.D., was a writer of many Sanskrit and Prākrit works. He belonged to the Pāṇivāda or Nambiar community of Keral in South Malabar. His Kaṁsavaho, a Prākrit poem in 4 cantos is critically edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye and published at Bombay, 1940. In his introduction, Dr. Upadhye has very well discussed the date and other works of Rāma, as also the nature of the Prākrit language which he employs.

Usāniruddha is another Prākrit poem, also in four cantos, composed by Rāma on the Purāṇik episode of the love-affair between Uṣā, the daughter of Bāṇāsura and Aniruddha, the grandson of Śrīkṛṣṇa, as known from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and other sources. A portion of this poem was first published in the Bulletin of the Adyar Library, May 1941 and after this the whole poem was published in the Journal of the Bombay University, Sept. 1941, together with a critical introduction dealing with the language and author-

ship of the poem by Dr. Upadhye. This latter edition of the poem was, however, based on a transcript of a single MS. at Madras and so naturally the text could not be as satisfactory as one would wish to have it.

The present edition is based upon a "palm leaf MS. whose writing is quite clear and legible" and which is written in the Grantha characters, and belonged to the late Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri. Even the Madras MS. mentioned above was consulted by the editors. As we are told, the mode of printing and other details (we expect also the form of the text), were already fixed by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri, and after his demise the task of writing the introduction and seeing the work through the press fell to the lot of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, who has surely very well done it. In the introduction Dr. Raja has proved, we think conclusively, that Rāma Pāṇivāda who wrote the present poem has to be distinguished from another Rāma Pāṇivāda who composed his works in only the Malayalam language.

Unfortunately however, no clear principles have been laid down which the editors may have adopted in the reconstruction of their text of the poem and so it is difficult in many places to see why a particular reading is adopted by them when it is neither supported by their MSS., nor by any other apparent considerations. We give a few instances from the Ist canto: I. 6*a*: *atthovabodha* (*arthopabodha*) of the MSS. seems to be correct; I 8*a*: Why double *ti*? 8*b*: *davvam* (*drayam*- "subjectmatter") of the MSS. is probably correct. I. 13*b*: Why *latthī va*? when both MSS. have *laṭṭhi vva*. I. 18*c*: *luṭhanti* supported by the MSS. need not be corrected to *ludhanti*. I. 20*c*: *hiḍiam* is possibly a misprint for *fiḍiam*. I. 21*d*: *kahim* is quite in order, in spite of the Chāyā and is besides supported by both the MSS. I. 22*a*: *ruvantim* is probably the correct reading; *rupantim* of the palm MS. supports this and besides cf. *ruviam* of the palm MS. in I. 24*b*. So *ruantim* and *ruiam* adopted by the editors are unnecessary. Upadhye's *rudiam* in I. 24*b* is obviously a misprint for *ruviam*. I. 22*c*: *siviṇo kim eso* for *siviṇam kim cam* is a bold change, especially when the latter is supported by both the manuscripts.

The printing and the get-up of the book is attractive though one feels that the readings of the palm leaf MS. should have been given at the bottom of the page. An Index of all the verses and an exhaustive glossary of all the words used in the poem are given at the end and greatly add to the utility of the book.

H. D. V.

Spinozian Wisdom. By James Arther. Published by the Adyar Library. 1943. Pp. 108+xix. Price Rs.2-12-0.

None can dispute with the author that "Spinoza is one of the greatest of Western philosophers". Mr. Arther therefore has done great service not only to Theosophists for whom the book appears to be mainly written but to the general public by the timely publication of this book. The author hopes that by so doing he "might bring greater understanding and thereby peace and happiness to many and so contribute its share towards general world-peace". Whether this hope will be fulfilled or not, there is no doubt that the book will help towards removing a good deal of misunderstanding about one who was on the one hand decried as an atheist and on the other praised as God-intoxicated.

The book, however, does not claim to be a scholarly criticism of Spinoza's philosophy. Its pretensions are modest, viz. to give in a small compass the essence of Spinoza's philosophy. There is no doubt that in this the author has succeeded in an eminent degree. It is admirably clear. It is readable. Anyone wishing to know the main tenets of Spinoza's philosophy may safely be advised to begin with this book. The author deserves warmest thanks for writing a book at a moment when the world is facing the problem of its spiritual reconstruction.

G. N. L.

Peshwa Madhav Rao I. By A. C. Banerjee. (A. Mukherjee & Bros., Calcutta) 1943. Pp. 266. Price Rs.6 only.

Prof. Anil Chandra Banerjee's study of Peshwa Madhav Rao I is in the best traditions of historical scholarship. In a small, compact, and handy volume is compressed, for the first time in English, a very readable account of twelve eventful years of Maratha history. It is true Prof. Banerjee has not been exhaustive in his study of documents, still he is able to illustrate his vision of Madhav Rao's career and achievement by a mass of illuminating details collected from diverse reliable sources. These details he has embraced with a glance that has pierced through the random irregulatities of the surface in an attempt to build a consistent story out of the conflicting mass of evidence of unequal value.

Even a cursory glance at the bibliography will show that Prof. Banerjee has missed important newly-published Marathi material. Severe strictures have been passed on him on this score by Prof. T. S. Shejwalkar in his able review of the book in the June 1943 number of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute. It has further been pointed out there that Prof. Banerjee's study of the old Marathi sources has also not been as thorough as could have been wished. This has resulted in a number of inaccuracies and errors of confusion of dates, places and persons. It is unnecessary to enter into those details here, for that task has been performed to perfection by Prof. Shejwalker in the review mentioned above, which incidentally furnishes sound reasons why competent historians, in spite of the comparative simplicity of the discipline, are such rare birds!

Flowing from the same source is said to arise another more serious shortcoming of the book. Not having the fresh material before him, Prof. Banerjee, it is said, is unable to shake off the weight of old authorities and is merely content to echo them in his analysis and judgment of important events and personages of this period. To those who have felt the stir of recent controversy among the historians of the Marathas, he appears to be a worshipper of traditional views in regard to his appraisal of Madhav Rao's personal character and statesmanship, of the alleged disservice of Raghoba and Sakharam Bapu to the Maratha Empire, of the conduct of men like Mahadaji Sinde, and Visaji Krishna. In the light of the fresh evidence it is said, a revision of his opinions is necessary.

We are not so sure that Prof. Banerjee lays himself open to criticism on this ground. It must, of course, be at once admitted that in the writing of history it is inexcusable to omit consideration of any relevant available material. But fresh evidence need not always induce revision of judgment. It may be mentioned here, for what it is worth, *that even today there are not wanting those, who, in spite of the* fresh material, adhere to the old views; while the present reviewer, in a thesis submitted to the Bombay University on this same subject, as far back as 1930, came to conclusions more or less similar to the current revised ones. The whole question of the validity of historical judgment is so beset with fundamental problems regarding the nature and scope of the historian's task that it is unhelpful to be dogmatic about it. There seems to be no more scientific basis for any particular analysis or judgment than for any other.

Let us ask ourselves the simple question, what are historical facts? *Most* people argue as if historical facts are given to us in diaries, letters, contemporary documents, etc. and what we have to do is merely to gather all the available facts and find out to what conclusions they point. This is, to say the least, a very näive account of the matter. There is an important difference between facts in the natural sciences and those in the social sciences. It is possible to define and identify unambiguously a physical substance by means of its properties. But there is no certain passage from the physical characteristics of human activity to its nature and significance. *Historical facts*, paradoxically as Prof. Hayek points out, are therefore really theories. We define both the objects of human activity and the different kinds of actions themselves, not in physical terms but in terms of the intentions of the acting persons themselves. (Hayek, *Facts in the Social Sciences*, Ethics, June, 1943.)

Take, for instance, the treatment of the Nizam by the Treaty of Urali. One view is that the treaty was favourable to the Nizam. Khare mentions the incompleteness of Raghoba's military success and the Konkanastha-Deshastha rivalry as possible factors determining Raghoba's policy. Prof. Banerjee states that "the facts at our disposal do not require to be explained in that way. It is enough to say that Raghunath wanted to secure a potential ally in his struggle for power at Poona, and tried to conciliate Nizam Ali by undeserved leniency! Thus Raghunath Rao undoubtedly betrayed the trust placed in him by refusing to take advantage of so good an opportunity" (p. 9).

Let us find out what are the facts at our disposal in this case. The only facts rightly so called would be certain physical events and the activities of the persons concerned. For example, if any territorial adjustments took place between the parties, that would be a fact; the activities of, and in relation to, the Konkanastha and the Deshastha Brahmins would be facts; the number of men killed, ammunition, etc. destroyed, would be facts. But favourable terms, Konkanastha-Deshastha rivalry, incomplete military success—none of these is a fact; they are all theories. Besides these, there may be a more general theory about the interpersonal relations between Madhavrao, Raghoba and Nizam Ali, which includes and is consistent with all the separate theories about individual facts. This is what makes history a significant narrative. The historian traces the intrinsic connection between a group of historical phenomena referring to a situation, period or personage. He colligates, as has been aptly said, all the different facts under "appropriate conceptions". And here is the crucial difficulty of the scientific historian. It is at least conceivable that quite a few such "coherent meaningful wholes" can be built up on the basis of the same facts according as the dominant concepts differ. As it happens in cross-word puzzles, a number of solutions are possible on the same clues, without, however, any obligation in history to accept the sealed solution as the correct one. Modern readers will readily recognize that "the facts in a detective story are generally capable of hypothetical completion in more than one way; in accordance with more than one theory"! Mannheim has cited the classic illustration of the murder trial in the Brothers Karamazof where Dostojewski shows how the same action can assume completely different meaning according to the different motives which underlie it. It is really unnecessary to labour the point further. Everyone accepts its truth when he admits, e.g. that Bousset wrote history from the standpoint of the Roman Catholic Church, or that Karl Marx gave us an economic interpretation of history, or Spengler derived his key to the understanding of history from biology. We are merely pleading for a recognition of the working of the same principle in the understanding of individual facts in history.

Another persistent form of historical criticism is the appraisal of the achievement or statesmanship of a great historical figure. Madhavrao's statesmanship in particular is found fault with in two respects:

(1) Instead of trying to establish the hegemony of the Peshwa, Madhavrao should have raised the status of the Chhatrapati of Satara and thus helped to create unity in the loosely-knit Maratha confederacy by making the Bhonsle, the Gaikawad, etc.—feel that they, equally with the Peshwa, were servants of the Chhatrapati; and

(2) The time after the disaster of Panipat was one essentially for internal consolidation and not for expansion. On both these points Prof. Banerjee would seem to subscribe to traditional views. Though he has nowhere stated it definitely it is sufficient to point out that he has characterized Janojee's conduct as Revolt of the Bhonsle. It would also appear that he favoured the expansionist view: On page 130 he says, "It is regrettable that he (Madhavrao) could not secure the rich districts of Bidnur and Sunda. For this failure to exploit an advantageous situation the blame rests not on the Peshwa but on Raghunath Rao and Janoji Bhonsle, whose unpatriotic revolts diverted his attention from expansion to internal consolidation."

It is difficult to imagine how, with only a nominal ruler at the top a de facto head could have failed to emerge. Besides, to expect Madhavrao to rise superior to the general

selfishness of the age and further to expect the Maratha nobility either to be taken in by the ruse or to emulate his worthy example, is to forget the chief features of the social structure which every historian of the period has emphasized. Again, there is no reason why the hegemony of the Peshwa or his aggressive policy should necessarily have failed. If Madhavrao had lived longer, or Raghoba's usurpation had succeeded, it does not seem altogether beyond the range of possibility, that Raghoba, a perfect soldier, with internal government in the hands of such a consummate statesman as Sakharam Bapu, should have made the Maratha name once more reverberate throughout the length and breadth of India.

But these are arguments on the merits of the case. There are more fundamental. logical arguments against such type of criticism. It is a very human failing to be wise after the event. But in demonstrating the wisdom of an alternative policy which could have averted an historical tragedy, is not the historian-critic imputing anachronistically to the historical personage his own knowledge of the disaster? Even assuming that the disaster was such as could have been foreseen by a man of great political imagination and prophetic insight into the future like the statesman criticized, he would still be a bold critic who would assert that the policy actually followed was bound to lead to the disaster in question, and the alternative policy would certainly have avoided it. It will not be seriously disputed, it is hoped, that the failure of a policy does not necessarily argue for lack of wisdom in its formulation. It is all too familiar how "the best-laid schemes of mice and men oft gang agley," for reasons which are beyond their control, e.g. early death of the statesman, or an explosion such as shook Bombay the other day. Nor is a policy which some may pronounce bad necessarily devastating in its effects; here, on the contrary, an accident might help. While the struggle for power between Madhavrao and Raghoba was going on, the English were playing a double-dealing game. While Mostyn was professing sentiments of friendship to Madhavrao at Poona, Thomas Hodges had written a letter to Raghoba at Nasik advising him that Ganpat Dalvie was being sent to him for the purpose of entering into a definitive treaty. This letter could not reach Raghoba as the man appointed to carry it, refused to do so on some pretext or other. In the meanwhile news arrived from Madhavrao of Raghoba's final defeat at Dhodap. The English congratulated themselves that their plan for helping Raghoba miscarried. (This letter has not been alluded to by Prof. Banerjee in spite of his exhaustive study of the English documents, presumably because it did not have any influence on the actual course of events. But as in the case of the Grecian Urn, so in history, Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter still). If judgment by results is, therefore, excluded, policy-making would appear to be ultimately an essay in the application of general principles to particular situations. It is a matter of intuition, of informed judgment, of trained imagination, for which no scientific laws can be laid down. Double experimentation is impossible in the field of social phenomena, which constitutes a definite limitation on the application of the scientific method in the social sciences.

The difficulty of the critic in the present case arises because contrary to the laws of logic and life he is trying to eat his cake and have it. He is at one and the same time adopting two inconsistent attitudes towards history, viz. the experimental and the post-mortem. In suggesting an alternative policy he stands by the experimental attitude and emphasizes the uncertainty of the entire future, pregnant with infinite possibilities. In such a view external conditions and forces never act irresistibly. Historical events do not just happen. They are the result of free human choice and decision. But in pronouncing his alternative policy to be the best, the critic gives up the experimental attitude, pretends to estimate the precise significance of events, makes an excursion into the realms of prophetic speculation, predicts a definite outcome and thus renders unproblematic what really is problematic. These are the horns of the dilemma on which the critic standing up for a particular historical judgment is forever impaled (cf. Mannheim, Man and Society, p. 189).

Those who adopt the post-mortem view are pronounced "guilty of regarding everything that has happened as the only things that could possibly have happened!" That, indeed, constitutes the whole problem of induction as Whitehead has emphasized. Unless it is assumed that there is a logic of history there is no point in attempting to discover its laws, apart from the question of our ever succeeding in formulating them. It is important to realize that a scientific explanation of what happened is a demonstration that it was inevitable under the given conditions. It is unfortunate that it can be interpreted as a defence of the actual course of history. Judgment, on such a view, is simply irrelevant.

If this argument is pushed a little further, it will cut at the very roots of judgment in history. We have been assuming for the most part a rationalistic theory of historical interpretation. But is history really "intelligible"? Does it make sense? Is history a rational process in the sense that its course can be shown to proceed from reason? Should we not perhaps be right in saying that the whole Peshwa period was a chaotic age in which no great ideas such as reason could approve were being realized? (cf. W. H. Walsh, The *Intelligibility of History, Philosophy*, April, 1942.)

There are those who hold that there is an objective dynamics in history. "Things economic and social move by their own momentum." Men undoubtedly seem to be guided by the light of reason in the pursuit of their daily tasks; but reason only illumines their little private worlds; they are unconscious of the goal, if any, to which the world process is tending. It is perhaps not intrinsically irrational for a people to hunger for *lebensraum*; nor possibly, to desire to hold its own and work in the interests of the Commonwealth and the Empire; nor to try to secure for all men freedom from want and fear; nor again, to earn an honest living within the pale of the law by the manufacture of armaments. But the result of all these rational activities is the rule of chaos and old night. In the sociologist's useful distinction, man is only functionally rational, not yet substantially rational (cf. Mannheim, Man and Society, p. 53).

Such being the present state of the debate on this most important question, what more can a reviewer do than to welcome Prof. Bannerjee's contribution, and Oliver-like ask for more from others?

N. A. M.

The Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita. By P. N. Srinivaschari, M.A., Retired Principal and Professor of Philosophy, Pachaiyappa's College. Published by the Adyar Library. 1943. Pp. xxv+642. Price Rs.10.

This work has a special and peculiar value, being the first attempt by a scholar of great repute at a detailed and comprehensive treatment of the Viśiṣṭādvaita branch of the Vedānta philosophy. It is divided into twenty-two chapters and contains a critical survey of Viśiṣṭādvaita as outlined in a series of eight lectures delivered by the author under the auspices of the University of Madras. In the scholarly introduction the author deals exhaustively with the evolution of Vedānta as enshrined in the Upaniṣads, the Gīta and the Brahmasūtras and discusses the successive emergence of various schools of Vedānta philosophy.

The first three chapters contain a general discussion on Viśiṣṭādvaita as a philosophy of religion and its theory of knowledge, in which the author criticizes the theory of two Brahmans. Chapters IV to IX deal with the question of the Viśiṣṭādvaitic ontology while in chapters X to XVI the author treats its cosmology, *Karma-yoga*, *Jñana-yoga*, *Bhakti-yoga* and *Prapatti-yoga*. In the remaining chapters topics such as Ubhaya Vedānta, the mysticism of Viśiṣṭādvaita and *Mukti* receive a fairly exhaustive treatment which is followed by a brief history of Viśiṣṭādvaitic Vaiṣṇavism and the influence of Rāmānuja on other systems in India. In the concluding chapter the author presents the central truth of Viśiṣṭādvaita and refutes the charges levelled against it.

From the wide range of diverse subjects under which the author has treated his theme and his critical analysis of distinguishing features of rival schools of Vedānta, one can clearly see his thorough grasp of the central theme. He maintains that *Śāstra* is an integral whole including the *Vedas, Smṛtis, Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* and it has either to be accepted in toto or rejected. Rāmānuja's system takes full cognizance of this fact and further his exposition of *Śāstra* satisfies the supreme demands of *Śruti, Tarka* and *Anubhava*. According to Rāmānuja's theory the Brahman is the *Śarīrin* of the world of *cit* and *acit* and by knowing him the world, i.e. his *Śarīra* or *Prakāra*, is also known. Since the Brahman is real, the world being the living expression of the Infinite is also equally real and not an illusory phantom. With Rāmānuja reality and value go together. The Brahman, the supreme reality, therefore is also the home of eternal values such as truth, goodness, beauty and bliss. The perfect enters into the imperfect for the purpose of perfecting it. This is the *līlā* of love. This philosophy of love according to our author mediates between the metaphysics of the *Advaita* and the ethics of the *Dvaita*.

The central theme as stated above is, indeed, a correct representation of Rāmānuja's philosophy by the author. One can even agree with the author and say that Viśiṣṭādvaita mediates between philosophic monism on the one hand and the theism of *Dvaita* on the other. In fact from the practical or *vyāvahārika* point of view such a philosophy of life is certainly a great help to a *sādhaka*. But when the supreme tests of *Śruti, Tarka,* and *Anubhava* including spiritual experience also are rigorously applied, a critical student of philosophy will have sound reasons to differ from the author who maintains that Rāmānuja's philosophy is a true philosophy of religion which reconciles the opposition between philosophy and religion and the conflict between *monism* and *pluralism*. The author's exposition of Śaṅkara's point of view shows lack of proper appreciation and understanding of the heights of Advaitic experience. Further his contention that the *nirguṇa* texts in the Upaniṣads do not deny *guṇa* but only *heya guṇa* and that the *abheda* texts do not deny the plurality of things but deny only the pluralistic view of reality makes his position rather compromising when the acid test of *Tarka* and *Śruti prāmāṇya* are properly applied.

Barring these points of disagreement the work under review is certainly a scholarly and thought-inspiring treatise on the system of Viśiṣṭādvaita and is the first of its kind which makes a valuable contribution to our philosophic thought so far as its influence on modern thought is concerned. The author richly deserves unstinted praise for his systematic and all-sided exposition of Rāmānuja's doctrine and the Adyar library is also to be congratulated for adding this noteworthy treatise to its list of very useful publications.

V. A. G.

Srī Rāmānuja's Theory of Knowledge, a study. By Dr. K. C. Varadachari, M.A., Ph.D., of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. Published by Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams Press, Tirupati, 1943. Pp. v+239. Price Rs.3.

This hand-book dealing with the epistemology of Viśiṣṭādvaita is a modest attempt in the form of a thesis presented by Dr. Varadachari for his Doctor of Philosophy degree. It is divided into seven chapters followed by four appendices in which topics related to the main theme are treated. In the first two chapters the author endeavours to show that the subject-object relation can never be reduced to mere experience as the object is as real as the subject. What is presented in perception is thus not consciousness. The same can be said about intuition which is, according to Rāmānuja, similar to perception, the only difference being that the latter can be styled as the perfect consciousness unlimited in range and intensity due to purification of the mind and *prāṇa*. The Veda being free from all defects, therefore, deals with eternal truths intuited by the Ṛṣis. In the following two chapters the author maintains that consciousness is a function of the self and in every cognition the real is apprehended because it is the nature of consciousness

to know the real. The remaining chapters contain a discussion on the problem of unity. The relation of *Śarīra-Śarīri bhāva* between the world and God, being organistic and personalistic, tends to establish the existence of organic unity in which the unifying principle is God or Brahman.

This theory of Rāmānuja seeks to harmonize the physical, moral and spiritual orders of Reality. In view of this assumption the author considers Rāmānuja a synthetic thinker. Professor P. N. Srinivasachari under whose guidance the author seems to have worked endorses in his foreword these conclusions as both the authors seem to be in complete agreement as regards the rôle and philosophic value of Viśiṣṭādvaita. Naturally our remarks on the work of Professor Srinivasachari already reviewed by us, above pointing out the limitations of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy would also apply in equal measure to this hand-book.

V. A. G.

Vādāvali by Jayatirtha. Edited with an English translation and notes by P. NAGARAJA RAO, M.A., Department of Philosophy, Benares Hindu University and published by the Adyar Library. 1943. Pp. xxxii+224. Price Rs.4.

This is the first publication by the Adyar Library bearing on the Dvaita school of Vedānta. Jayatirtha (1365–1388), the author of nearly twenty-two works is a well-known erudite scholar and the greatest exponent of Madhva's philosophy; his Vādāvalī consisting of about seven hundred *granthas* is the earliest polemical tract of the post-Madhva period that criticizes the doctrine of *Māyā*. The edition of the work with an English translation and notes was undertaken by Mr. P. Nagaraja Rao under the supervision of the late Professor S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. As the editor was away at Benares at the time of its publication, the actual work of revising the manuscript of the translation with notes and passing the proofs was done by Dr. Kunhan Raja who has written the foreword and is also responsible for dividing the text into sections and preparing the index of words in the text. In editing the text of Vādāvalī two available printed editions have been used—(1) The Kumbakonam edition with one commentary, (2) The Belgaum edition with three commentaries.

The text is divided into 530 small sections. In the first half of the book the well-known proposition of the Advaitin "The world is illusory" advanced on the strength of three distinct probans, namely, cognizability, inertness and finitude is refuted. In sections 1–134 seven alternative interpretations of *mithyātva* are discussed and found to contradict the canons of logic. Sections 135–225 contain a criticism of the three probans mentioned above and also a discussion of the relative capacities of the two *pramāṇas*, i.e. perception and inference. In sections 225–311 Jayatirtha tries to show how the inferences of the Advaitin are contradicted by *Śruti* and *Smṛti* and puts forward his counter-inferences. In the remaining part of the book the chief topic is the dialectics of difference followed by the reality of the Universe and its difference from the Brahman.

It is unnecessary for us to go here into the refutation of the arguments advanced by Jayatirtha to disprove the Advaita theory of *Mithyātva* as most of these arguments have been successfully met in works of great Pandits such as Madhusudana Sarasvati and other Advaitins. Jayatirtha is, however, considered as one of the most brilliant dialecticians who has a complete mastery over his subject and a good command over devices essential for a philosophical disputation. Moreover remarkable terseness of his style adds considerably to the force of his arguments.

The fact that the editor and translator of this work had the advantage of working under the late Professor Suryanarayana Sastri is mostly responsible for the accuracy of the translation even though one cannot always be too sure about it in translating Sanskrit works on technical subjects. Difficult and intricate points arising in the course of various

discussions have been carefully analysed and distinctly clarified by the editor. The notes are very brief and quite to the point. The Adyar Library deserves as usual every credit for taking up for publication the translation of such a standard work on Indian philosophy.

V. A. G.

The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda. Edited, translated and annotated by VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA, Asutosh Professor of Sanskrit, University of Calcutta, 1943. Pp. cxlvi+308.

This long awaited scholarly work is the outcome of prolonged labour and intense thinking over a period of nearly twenty-two years by Professor Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, a distinguished oriental scholar of a long standing. The very long introduction covering nearly 115 pages contains a critical discussion of various controversial points connected with the date of Gauḍapāda, his philosophy, the chronological relation between the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad and the Gauḍapāda-kārikās and many other allied topics. The MSS. collected and utilized for this edition number eighteen in addition to the printed edition in the Ānandāshram Series No. 10. Important variants are discussed in their respective places in the body of the work while a complete list containing all variants is given in a separate appendix at the end. In the annotations the editor has noted parallel passages mostly from Buddhist works and offered his own remarks on their relation to the textual passages concerned. In this task his knowledge of original Buddhist works has been of great help to him.

The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda consists of four *prakaraṇas*, viz. the Āgama, the Vaitathya, the Advaita and the Alātaśānti. The first *prakaraṇa* gives the text of the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad and 29 kārikās; the second has 38 kārikās while the third and the fourth contain 48 and 100 kārikās respectively. The Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad proper tries to equate the three states of consciousness, namely the waking, the dreaming and the sleeping, with the three morae (a-u-m) of the mystic syllable *OM*, and the *Turīya* state i.e. *Samādhi* condition with the entire moraless mystic syllable *OM*. On the strength of this identification Gauḍapāda develops his Advaita philosophy in the Kārikās by proving that the *Turīya* condition represents the Reality in which all other experiences are sublated, being *Mithyā* due to mere imagination of the mind that moves on account of *Māyā*. He supports his theory by *Śruti*, *Tarka* and even, it seems, by *Anubhava*.

Many divergent views about the Kārikās, their author and their relation to the text of the Upaniṣad have been expressed by oriental scholars. The editor has tried to meet the arguments of the orthodox school in his own way in the introducion. The limited scope of a review will not allow a reviewer to undertake a detailed examination of the arguments advanced by the editor and translator. As regards the question whether the twelve passages constituting the text of the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad are to be regarded as *Śruti* and chronologically prior to the Kārikās of the Āgama Prakaraṇa, Professor Bhattacharya is of opinion that the Kārikās are prior to the prose passages in question and that the latter are based on the former. It is a pity that our arguments in support of the traditional view stated in a paper published in the Journal of the University of Bombay (cf. Vol. VI, part VI, May 1938) have safely escaped the attention of the learned editor. It is, therefore, needless to repeat here our own arguments against his view-point. Suffice it to say that his reasons mostly based on mere verbal differences between the text of the Upaniṣad and that of the Kārikās are not quite convincing; for the fact that important views on the creation stated in the Kārikās 6–9 and the most essential reference to *Anādi Māyā* as the cause of this creation, occurring in the Kārikās 16–18 can hardly be traced by any stretch of imagination in the Upaniṣad proper, will go a long way in the refutation of his assumption. With regard to the nature of verbal differences between the Upaniṣad

and the Kārikās, of which he makes so much capital, a critical reader will not fail to notice that the style of the Upaniṣad reveals more affinity with the Brāhmaṇa literature than with the style of the Kārikās which makes a distinct impression about their lateness. Besides the testimony of the tradition as handed down by successive *Advaitin* and *Dvaitin Ācāryas*, which cannot be so easily brushed aside goes altogether against the contention of the learned editor.

Another striking assumption made by Professor Bhattacharya is that there are two schools of *Vijñānavādins*—one headed by Gauḍapāda and the other led by *Maitreya*. In this connection one has got to admit that there is very close parallelism in point of thought and expression between the Kārikās and certain Buddhist works as so many parallel passages cited by him will clearly show. The only inference that can possibly be drawn is that Gauḍapāda has many a time used the arguments of Vijñānavādin to refute other schools of thought as far as it served his purpose. But to call Gauḍapāda a Vijñānavādin in the strict sense of the term on the strength of this fact is rather unwarranted in spite of essential differences between his Advaita theory and the philosophy of Vijñānavādins as scholars ordinarily understand by these terms; for in the distinction admitted by Professor Bhattacharya himself between different connotations of terms *Nitya* and *Dhruva* as applied to the Brahman and Vijñāna respectively, there is a clear implication of a fundamental difference between these two schools of thought.

Although scholars will thus have justifiable hesitation in wholeheartedly subscribing to some of the assumptions made by the editor, it cannot be gainsaid that his sincere and prolonged effort culminating in the production of this standard work will certainly make a very valuable contribution to the comparative study of the Vedānta and other schools of Indian philosophy.

V. A. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Sa'adyah Gaon on the Influence of Music. By Henry George Fa Farmer, Ph.D., D.Litt. (Arthur Probsthain, London). 1943. Pp. 11+108. 21 Shillings.

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Anupasimhagunāvatāra. By Vitthala Krishna. Edited by C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.) (Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner). 1942. Pp. 108.

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Tribes in Ancient India. By Bimala Churn Law (Bhandarkar Oriental Ser. No. 4). 1943. Pp. 428.

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Nāma-Rupa and Dharma-Rupa. By Maryla Falk, D.Litt. (University of Calcutta). 1943. Pp. 222.

Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State. Vol. II. Muslim Inscriptions (Sri Pratāpasinha Mahārāja Rājyābhisheka Grantha Māla, Memoir No. 3). 1944. Pp. 18 with 6 plates. Rs.2-4-0.

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Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library. By Pandit V. Krishnamacharya (Adyar Library). 1944. Pp. 210. Rs.10.

Educational Controversies in India: the Cultural Conquest of India under British Imperialism. By B. K. Boman-Behram (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay). 1944. Pp. 630. Rs.10.

Printed by G. E. Bingham, Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road, Calcutta, and published by the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

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